THE REFORMATION
A LIBERATING FORCE

AND ITS

MESSAGE TO MODERN AMERICA

PROFESSOR PHILIP VOLLMER, PH. D., D. D.

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AND ITS

Message to Modern America

BY

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FOREWORD.

The publication of this book was occasioned by the Four-hundredth Jubilee of the Protestant Reformation, on October 31, 1917, but the subjects discussed in it are of permanent value.

It is not another *history* of the Reformation, for there is an abundance of such on the market already; but rather an attempt to analyze with some care the theories, causes, principles, types, results and prospects of the great movement, and to apply its principles to conditions in modern America.

The reader may detect a number of new points of view. For example, the author is conscious of departing somewhat from the traditional conceptions of the Reformation in asserting that a consuming passion for liberty in the most comprehensive sense of the term has always been the real essence of Protestantism; in emphasizing that race psychology and economic conditions should be regarded as two of the most decisive causes of the Reformation; and in his method of proving the correctness of his strong convictions that American civilization is unique and peculiar and not a mere imitation of the Anglo-Saxon type.

The book has a *practical* aim. In view of the aggressiveness of Romanism in the United States, this year of jubilee should be improved by all Protestants to direct the attention of the American people anew to the essential principles of the Reformation which underlie the civil and religious liberty of our modern life and to reaffirm them in the face of conditions that demand re-emphasis.

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This object can best be reached during this year of jubilee by means of sermons, lectures, study classes and the copious distribution of literature.

This book has been written from the point of view of a broad evangelical type of Protestantism as represented by the various branches of the Evangelical, Reformed, Presbyterian, Congregational, Baptist and Methodist families of Churches, rather than from the standpoint of any narrow denominationalism. Only the great principles common to all of these Protestants have been emphasized.

Considerable care has been bestowed on the "Commended Reading," appended to each chapter. These lists contain literature of a high grade and within easy reach of the average reader.

In the second part of the book four important chapters have been omitted: 1. Protestant Criticism of American Democracy; 2. The Share of American Protestantism in the Social Uplift; 3. Pastoral Catechization a Lost Art Among American Protestants; 4. Some Theological Problems of American Protestantism. This omision was made for two reasons: first, because of an agreement to limit the book to about 150 pages in order to be able to sell it as low as possible; but mainly because in these war times an American may be in doubt as to how much of his right of the freedom of the press, though sacredly guaranteed in the constitution, will be conceded by the powers that be, to the "free" citizens of this "democracy."

PHILIP VOLLMER.

Dayton, Ohio, April 1, 1917.

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PART I.

The Reformation as a Liberating Force.

CHAPTER I.

The Philosophy of the Reformation.

The Reformation is the historical name for the widespread religious movement of the sixteenth century, which divided the West-European Church into two opposing sections—the Roman Catholic and the Protestant Churches. The name "Reformation" is, as a rule, also used by the Roman Catholics, though occasionally they prefix it by the qualifying term, "so-called." The East-European Churches—the Greek, Armenian, Nestorian and Coptic—were not influenced by the Protestant Reformation.

By the philosophy of the Reformation we understand the true *theory*, the chief underlying *causes* and the fundamental *principles* which, when considered together, explain the facts and results of that widespread and diversified movement.

As the real significance of the Protestant Reformation remains a subject of controversy to this very day, the theories as to its basic nature and its real aim and object vary greatly. This diversity of opinion is due to the religious, philosophical and scientific principles held by the advocates of the various views, as well as to the emphasis laid on the different phases of that comprehensive movement.

Liberty the Keynote of the Reformation.

In order to provide the reader with a reliable compass which will enable him to keep the main subject constantly before his mind, steering clear of all side-issues, we desire to emphasize right at the outset our conviction that the Protestant Reformation as to real essence, stripped of all accidentals, and reduced to its last analysis, is nothing less than *one of the strongest efforts ever made to liberate man from all fetters by which his religious, intellectual, social and political life has been bound.*

We are firmly persuaded that the true inner nature of this tremendous conflict can never be adequately understood, unless all its numerous aspects and phases are focused from this angle. Other theories of the Reformation, discussed in this chapter, are not false, but they are one-sided. Only by summing up the vital elements contained in each one of them into a higher unity may we hope to arrive at a theory sufficiently comprehensive to account for all the facts in the history of the Reformation. This sum total we tried to reduce to its briefest expression in the title of this book: "The Reformation a Liberating Force." And to demonstrate the truth of this theory is the main object of the following pages.

A Restoration of Apostolic Christianity.

In the popular mind the Protestant Reformation consisted chiefly in a series of events which purposed and actually accomplished a full restoration of Christianity as it is expressed in the Apostolic Age. This theory rests on a number of important assumptions. It takes for granted, in the first place, that the Apostolic Age was actually the golden age of the Church, and that during that period the life proceeding from her Divine head was fully realized by members of the Church. This supposition, however, does not only militate against the law of all growth according to which the ripe fruit cannot be expected at the planting of the tree, but it is also flatly contradicted by the actual spiritual and moral conditions of the first Christians, as described in the New Testament. This theory, secondly, considers it possible for later ages to think, feel, and act exactly as the first Christians did, living hundreds of years before, under altogether different climatic, political, social and educational circumstances. Yet, granting the possibility of such a repristination, would it be desirable? Would it not involve many distinct losses? Since the year A. D. 70 or 100, the Holy Spirit has led the Church into many a larger and precious truth. To-day, e. g., the Church has more decidedly put aside certain forms and ceremonies than even Paul did; we are interested to-day to a much higher degree in temperance, the uplift of women, of children and of the laboring class than any age before us. Who would be ready to part with these signs of progress by going back to exact conditions hundreds of

years ago? Such a crude view, moreover, takes no account of the progress of civilization, nor of the interests and needs of modern times. A Reformation, in order to be successful, must not only connect the past with the present, but it must be essentially a forward movement.

A Forward Movement.

By an increasing number of modern thinkers the Reformation is therefore considered as a forward step in the legitimate development of Christianity, leading the Churches, especially those among the more progressive nations, out of the age of childhood and immaturity into a greater enjoyment of the liberty of the children of God. This conception rests on the following considerations: (1) As to its essence, Christianity is the supreme and final religion (Heb. 1:1-3). In Christ dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead bodily (Col. 2:9). It can therefore never transcend itself and become more than it was in its founder. Potentially all later developments lie dormant, like living germs, within the Gospel. But (2) Christ, as the New Testament clearly shows, did not transmit His religion to His disciples as a finished product, in the form of a ready-made system of beliefs, rituals or forms of government, absolutely fixed for all times and peoples. He rather infused its essence into their hearts as the spirit of truth and life, as a mighty force and a holy inspiration. The apprehension and appropriation of these truths, contained and implied in the Gospel, by individuals, nations and society became a matter of slow and gradual development. And as the Church unfolded her life in closest contact with humanity, and stamped with her approval whatever was good and true in her environment, we should not be surprised to find different types of Christianity among the different races. It is therefore one of the most edifying features in the study of Church history to trace the fulfillment of Christ's promise, that the Holy Spirit would later remind His people of truths taught by Him, but which for long periods had been overlooked by the Church. This ministry of the Spirit began on Pentecost and has been continued through all ages of the Church. Even during the dark Middle Ages, God did not leave Himself without witnesses. In this enlightening process the Reformation is one of the most important

climaxes ever reached in the history of the Church since its founding. And in this fact lies the real significance of that great movement.

A Struggle for Intellectual Liberty.

The majority of men of pronounced progressive tendencies in all ages have held that, as to its real essence, the Reformation should be chiefly regarded as one of the decisive phases of that age-long and never-ending struggle which aims at throwing off the fetters of intellectual bondage, in answer to man's yearning for a more perfect self-expression. This view regards the movement merely as one aspect of the Renaissance. The taking of Constantinople by the Turks, in 1453, had dispersed the literary treasures and the scholars of that rich and learned city all over Western Europe. As a result, the study of Greek, Latin and Hebrew literature flourished everywhere. Art was also revived. The invention of the compass and the discovery of America revolutionized men's ideas and fired the imagination of the best minds. The world was becoming larger and men felt that they needed more room to breathe in. Intellectual restraints became irksome. New schools and the art of printing made these ideas and aspirations common property. The Church, as usual, opposed freedom and a terrific explosion was the result. Radical thinkers have carried this line of thought to extremes, viewing the Reformation as only the first impulse of a movement which is destined to thrust aside everything which lays claim to authority, the principles of the Reformation included. Lessing, in apostrophizing the great Reformer, exclaims: "Luther, thou great, misjudged man! Thou hast redeemed us from the yoke of tradition; who will redeem us from the more unbearable yoke of the letter? Who will bring us a Christianity such as thou wouldst teach now, such as Christ Himself would teach?" Guizot, speaking in the same tenor, defines the Reformation as an insurrection of the human mind against the absolute power of the spiritual order. Free thought and inquiry were its demands. The conscious purpose of the Reformers, it is true, was simply to renovate the Church, but they "performed more than they undertook;" more, probably, than they desired. The next chapter on the causes of the Reformation will show that the

above presents a one-sided and therefore misleading conception of the Reformation.

The Evolutionary Theory of the Reformation.

The new "religio-historical school," which is making great progress among modern students of the science of comparative religions and of the philosophy of religion, considers the Reformation merely as one, though a most decisive, forward step in the age-long struggle of mankind out of the night of barbarism towards the light of more reasonable and ethical religious ideas. On the successive milestones of this onward movement they see inscribed the noble names of Buddha, Confucius, Zoroaster, Moses, Isaiah, Jesus, Paul and Luther. The admitted corruption of the Church in teaching and practice before the Reformation, as they view it, is not to be attributed to a falling away from any supposed perfect condition of the primitive Church, but is due to relics of barbarism or to arrested progress. What the Reformation accomplished was, therefore, not a restoration of supposed former ideal conditions of the Church, but rather the infusion of religious conceptions more ethical and spiritual than any ever known before in the world. As an interpretation of the Reformation this theory is unacceptable, because it considers the rise and development of Christianity as a mere natural process, denying its supernatural origin and its finality and degrading its history to a mere chapter in the general history of the world religions.

A Layman's Movement.

There are many good reasons for regarding the Reformation as a revolt of the laymen against the despotism of the priesthood. One of the most grievous wrongs, and the root of many other evils, was and still is the usurpation of the rights of the laymen in the Church of Rome. Among the first appeals which Luther issued was, therefore, a fiery "Address" to the laymen to come out and do their share in reforming the Church. His appeal found an instant and very general echo in the hearts of untold millions of all social classes. Nothing frightened the higher clergy more than this uprising of the laity. Very early in Luther's struggle the archbishop of Mainz wrote to the Pope: "Very few laymen may be found who hon-

estly favor the priests:" and later the papal Nuncio informed his master that nine-tenths of the German people cry aloud: "Long live Luther." Similar conditions were found in other countries. Without the active support of the thousands of these resolute laymen the Reformation, as was the case in previous centuries, would have been smothered to death in dungeons and at the stake. Luther could defy Emperor and Pope at Worms, because he knew that it was not the lone monk who did so, but the champion of a cause backed by millions of princes, nobles, merchants and peasants. It is true, at Worms, in 1521, he spoke out alone, but the solemn "Protest" of Speyer, in 1529, was already signed by many representative leaders, bearing the illustrious names of nineteen sturdy laymen, the rulers of Saxony, Brandenburg, Luneburg, Hesse and Anhalt, as well as those of the representatives of the fourteen City-Republics: Strassburg, Nuernberg, Ulm, Constance, Linden, St. Gall, Memmingen, Noerdlingen, Heilbroun, Reutlingen, Wissenberg, Isny and Windsheim. Some of the most active laymen in the Reformation period were the three Electors of Saxony, Luther's fatherland: Frederick the Wise, John the Steadfast and John Frederick the Magnanimous. Especially the first was the most respected of all the German princes, a man of common sense, probity and firmness, and of large wealth. Landgrave, Philip of Hesse, was the ablest political leader that the Reformation developed in Germany. He organized the Evangelical League, and if it had not been for the mismanagement and the wrangling of the theologians, especially of Luther at Marburg, over hair-splitting differences, would have succeeded in co-operation with other laymen in effectively uniting all the Protestant forces of Germany for the defense of the great cause. This, no doubt, would have resulted in making Germany unanimously Protestant, and thus would have prevented the subsequent religious wars, including the terrible Thirty Years' War, which nearly destroyed Protestantism. Another sturdy layman was the Markgrave of Brandenburg (the ancestor of the German Emperor), who at the Diet of Augsburg, in 1530, declared to the Emperor that he would have his head struck off, rather than deny God by taking part in the Feast of Corpus Christi to do honor to the Mass. And what Protestant does not know the illustrious

names of leading laymen, like Admiral Coligny, Elector Frederick III, of the Palatinate, William of Orange, Oliver Cromwell and Gustavus Adolphus, all standing out prominently on the golden pages of Protestantism?

The Superman Theory.

The advocates of the "great-men-theory" of history regard the Reformation as nothing more than the self-assertion of a number of men of unusual mental and moral capacities. This theory rests on the opinion of writers like Goethe, Carlisle, Treitschke, Emerson and others, that it is individuals that create movements, and that history is simply the biography of a few great men. Even so great a historian as Leopold Von Ranke somewhat favors this view. As opposed to Buckle, who believed that the great historical movements were determined by physical laws in which men had, so to speak, no part, and of which they are only the instruments, he believes that history is nothing more than "the work of certain minds fulfilling more or less certain conditions, and each having a certain peculiar sphere of influence. It has not been doctrines that have overthrown the world, but the powerful personalities who are the incarnation of these doctrines. Great men are a product of nations, and they do not appear save at a comparatively advanced stage of civilization." But in another place he goes to the other extreme, asserting that "no one has any right to speak of mistakes committed, opportunities lost, and culpable omissions. Events rule men: they live their lives under a sort of inevitable necessity; they have on them the seal of fate." In the light of history, thoroughgoing philosophy and psychology this theory is unsound. Superficially considered the Reformation was, indeed, the work of a number of great men. But in modern times we have learned to realize that great men are just as much the product as they are the stimulus of their age, and that great movements are long in preparing, being due to the impressions, the feelings and the uprisings of centuries. The functions of the leaders lie chiefly in giving expression and in wisely directing the movement of which they are merely a part, and by no means the creators. When applied to ordinary men, Strauss is therefore decidedly correct in his defense of the Hegelian principle that "the idea is averse to pouring

all its riches into one individual and behaving miserly towards the rest." (Die Idee liebt es nicht, ihre ganze Fuelle in ein einziges Exemplar auszugiessen und gegen die Andern zu geizen.") Men greater than the Reformers had been living at other periods, but they did not succeed in reforming the Church, because the times were not ripe. The truth, therefore, lies between the two extremes. Great movements should be considered as the joint product of two factors, a favorable opportunity and forceful men prepared for the task. This was the case in the period of the Reformation. Hence the success! As between the two factors, the strongest emphasis should, however, be laid on the operation of general causes—the religious, political, intellectual and economic conditions in Europe at the dawn of the sixteenth century.

An Astrological Theory.

Incredible as it may sound to most modern men, the rise and progress of the Reformation is attributed by contemporaries of Luther to "certain uncommon and malignant positions of the stars, which scattered the spirit of giddiness and innovation over the world." (Robertson, History of Charles V.) The belief in the influence of the constellation of the heavenly bodies on human affairs is very ancient (as seen in the story of the Wise Men from the East, Matt. 2), and had adherents even in men like Philip Melanchthon, Pope Paul III, General Wallenstein and the great astronomer, Kepler. Even so famous a philosopher as Lord Bacon would have astrology "rather purified than altogether rejected." This superstition is being revived in our own days even in some enlightened circles, though is hardly proposed at this date as an explanation of the Reformation, except among some classes of Romanists.

The High Church Point of View.

A very large section of the Church of England and a considerable minority of the Protestant Episcopal Church in America regard the Protestant Reformation as the greatest calamity that has ever befallen the Church. They characterize the movement as hasty, coarse, crude and ignorant; as injurious to religion and humanity, destroying more valuable things than it supplied in their place; they censure it as inimical to

Church order, tradition and continuity. One of their leaders, Mr. Froude, with a supercilious mien, writes: "Eminent, well-informed men condemn Luther's violence as needless and mischievous. Goethe says that he threw back the intelligence of mankind for centuries by calling in the passions of the mob to decide questions which ought to have been left to thinkers. Matthew Arnold regards him as a Philistine and an Anglican divine compares him to Joe Smith, the Mormon." This faction is at heart Roman Catholic, and therefore has repeatedly petitioned the Pope to recognize their ordination, but hitherto in vain. In England considerable numbers of these people are constantly passing over into the Roman fold; at times, as e. g., during the Oxford or Tractarian Movement, the stream develops into a torrent, carrying across the line even men of repute, like Cardinals Manning and Newman. This faction desires to be known as "Anglo-Catholic," and in America at every General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church they propose the elimination of the word "Protestant" from the official title of their denomination.

Goethe

Arnold.

Anglo Catholic
ch. hist. Fiske
p. 63

Roman Catholic Theories of the Reformation.

VIII Roman Cath

Roman Catholics have advanced various explanations to account for a phenomenon which they regard as one of the greatest crimes ever committed by mortal men. Pope Leo X, hearing of the commotion in Saxony, is reported to have said: "It is the babbling of a drunken monk; when he becomes sober he will change his mind." Some Roman Catholic writers hold that Luther's opposition was due to jealousy because of the selling of indulgences and the accruing profit being given to the Dominican order, instead of the Augustinians, of which he was a member and an official. Even in this day and in free America high dignitaries of the Roman Church and reputable authors are not ashamed to make charges against the Reformers in the most loathsome terms, not always fit to print, to account for what they call their rebellion. "The leaders of the Reformation," declared the Pope, as late as 1910, in the notorious Borromeo Encyclical, "were proud and rebellious men, enemies of the cross, who minded earthly things and whose god is their belly." The motives usually assigned to them are licentiousness, self-will, pride and eagerness to marry. They

Pope Leo X.

licentiousness, self will, pride marriage

are denounced as blasphemous, heretical and criminal. Among the less turbid causes some Catholic writers assert that the chief motive of the Reformers was a desire to emancipate the thinking of men from the control of Divine influences and institutions. Robertson asserts that "the principle of rationalism is inherent in the very nature of Protestantism." But Dr. Fisher (Reformation, p. 3) truly says: "It is little short of trifling to assign these things as principal causes of so mighty a historic change as the Reformation." In view of the moral conditions at the courts of the Pope and of the bishops, as well as in the parsonages and in the monasteries, it would certainly not have been necessary for the Reformers to leave the Roman Church, if their motive had been to indulge in immorality. The charge that the Reformers should have made their efforts at reform from within the Church can easily be answered by pointing to the innumerable attempts which before their time and since had been made to reform the Church from within; but they were all suppressed by blood and iron. Only separation from Rome promised success.

Commended Reading.

1. Harnack, "What is Christianity?" Especially the second half of the book.
2. Chamberlain, "The Foundations of the Civilization of the 19th Century."
3. White, "The Struggle Between Science and the Church."
4. Butz, G. S., "The Rise of the Modern Spirit in Europe." Very valuable. Only 75 cents.
5. Vollmer, Philip, "Calvinism and Modern Thought," in the volume "John Calvin, Theologian, Preacher, Educator, Statesman," p. 175.

CHAPTER II.

The Causes of the Reformation.

In discussing the theories of the Reformation in the previous chapter, we have already touched on some features of its causes. The aim of this book, however, calls for a more detailed analysis of these. Yet, before proceeding to the main discussion, a few preliminary observations will be appropriate. It should be understood, first of all, that the Reformation is neither an uncaused miracle nor an abrupt, unexpected revolt. It had its roots rather in a long train of causes, reaching into the remote Middle Ages, though greatly increasing in force during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Furthermore, it appears clear beyond any doubt that the Reformation was a complex movement. A variety of causes combined to produce it. For experience teaches that neither individuals, nor groups of men, nor nations and races are usually controlled in their important actions by one single motive. To insist therefore on ascribing any one solitary cause for such a comprehensive movement leads to confusion and erroneous valuation of facts. These multiple causes, it is true, acted differently and with varying degrees of force in each country, and at different periods. In Luther, e. g., the religious motive predominated, while in England political conditions take first place. All this goes to show that the Reformation was a concerted, not an isolated movement; it was not detached from the general progress of the age in which it occurred. For society, in the abstract, and in each period of a nation's history, forms an organism and moves as a whole, either forward or backward. There is perfect interaction of all the parts of a national organism. The wave which lifts the ship as a whole, at the same time elevates all that there is in the vessel. Only for a short time may one part lag behind, or advance beyond the rest. Finally, a clear distinction should be drawn, not only between fundamental or primary, as distinguished from contributory or secondary causes, but also between actual causes and what should be regarded merely as favorable circum-

stances, occasions and symptoms. For example, the numerous discoveries and inventions during the fifteenth century were favorable circumstances; the reforming Councils of Pisa, Constance and Basel and the spread of mysticism were symptoms, while Tetzel's sale of indulgences and Henry VIII divorce proceedings were merely occasions for the Reformation.

1. Divine Providence the First Cause.

The one all-sufficient cause for the Reformation was the promise of the Divine Head of the Church: "Lo, I am with you alway unto the end of the age." He is in the midst of the seven candlesticks. God's clock had struck the hour. The time was fulfilled and He sent His messengers. This is an axiomatic truth among Christians and no further discussion of it is necessary.

2. The Religious Cause.

This stands out most prominently as the paramount motive for the rise of the Reformation. In the course of centuries, Rome had developed in the people a most exaggerated idea of the value of a perfunctory discharge of routine and merely external duties. A form of godliness without its power was the result. In all centuries men had grown weary of this religion of forms and sacraments, of outward righteousness and inward depravity. But all serious protests were stifled in dungeons and at the stake. At last God sent the Reformers. To these earnest men religion was not merely one of the concerns of life, but the chief concern. There is nothing more pathetic than the reading of Luther's struggles for pardon and peace. Later he said: "If ever a monk gained heaven by his monkery, I must have done so. For I should have martyred myself, if I had kept it up longer, with watching, praying, reading and other labors." By processes much deeper and richer than those of logical argument, his heart leaped to the certainty of infinite grace. The tremendous effect of this experience in the monastery at Erfurt never left him. This explains Luther's indignation when he learned that Tetzel "sold God's grace for money." He knew from his own experience that a moral debt could not be liquidated, nor the peace of a quiet conscience obtained, by money. It is true, theoretically, contrition was required of the recipient of these indulgences, but in

practice the people regarded the transaction as a straight bargain on a money basis. They were unable to draw any fine distinctions. What a man thought he was buying was forgiveness of his past sins and liberty to commit more. "God willing," exclaimed Luther in holy wrath, "I will beat a hole in Tetzel's drum;" and so he did. The religious motive to account for the Reformation should therefore never be minimized. In the words of Dr. d'Aubigne, it was "a revival of true religion." On the other hand, it should never he overlooked that this religious revival was set in a framework of political, intellectual and economic changes from which it can not be disentangled without danger of mutilation. So, while the Reformation, in its distinctive character, is a religious movement, it was not an isolated phenomenon. It was a part and the fruit of the general progress of society which marks the period of transition from the Middle Ages to modern civilization, causing a ferment which left its influence on all phases of life down to the present day.

3. The Theological Cause.

Intimately connected with the religious is the theological cause of the Reformation. Beginning as early as the Apostolic Age the simple and spiritual Gospel of our Lord became increasingly perverted by the introduction of the philosophy of the times. In the ancient Church it was Greek philosophy which infused into Christ's religion a strong tendency to intellectualism, which has clung to it ever since. The idea became prevalent that true religion is first and foremost the acceptance of doctrines. The emotional and gladdening element of the Gospel (in spite of its name "Glad Tidings") disappeared to a large extent. Among the scholastics of the Middle Ages the philosophy of Aristotle reigned supreme and was held responsible by the Reformers for the errors of the papal system. This must be remembered in order to understand Luther's wrathful denunciation of the rule in theology of "that blind heathen Aristotle" because of the injury his half-understood Greek philosophy inflicted on the Church. "It pains me greatly," Luther writes, "that the damnable, proud, cunning heathen has led astray so many of the best Christians with his false words. He is an actor, who, in his Greek mask, has deceived

the Church. If Aristotle had not been flesh, I would not hesitate to say that he was the devil.'' In place of the scholastic schemes of Rome, all the Reformers demanded a system of theology, not only based on the Bible and decorated with Bible passages, but one legitimately drawn from the Scriptures. ''Theology,'' Luther writes, ''ought to be vital and practical, instead of philosophical and speculative.'' He was a mystic and made communion with God the supreme end of theology, while the scholastics read Christianity principally in intellectual terms. Melanchthon, in his ''Loci,'' Zwingli, in his ''True and False Religions,'' and Calvin, in his ''Institutes,'' presented to the Protestant Churches the first textbooks on theology.

4. The Intellectual Cause.

The all-pervading movement of Humanism, also known as the Renaissance, was a factor of such potency in promoting the Reformation that many historians regard it as merely one feature or aspect of Humanism. This movement derives the name ''Humanism'' from its efforts to humanize men, while the term ''Renaissance'' points to the fact that it is a ''revival'' of intellectual activity which had lain dormant during the long centuries of the dark Middle Ages. The reasons why an intellectual movement of this nature should vitally influence and mightily aid a revival of religion are obvious. In the first place, whatever tends to raise the intellectual side of man must of necessity strongly and favorably affect his moral and religious nature also. For man is an organism and not a conglomerate of air, or water-tight compartments which have no communication with one another. These humanists, no less than Columbus, had found a new world. They were amazed at the discovery of the high culture and the political and intellectual freedom in the newly discoverad classical literature and in the Greek text of the New Testament. With commendable energy they proposed to reshape the world according to the new models and ideals. In this attempt they boldly broke the shackles by which the medieval Church had fettered man's intellect. By laying emphasis on the natural dignity of every man, they discovered or rather rediscovered the individual, who in the Middle Ages was lost in the Church or in some order or guild. This naturally led to deeper moral earnestness.

SCHOOL OF

For if each individual is so valuable, self-respect, self-knowledge and self-control are virtues that should be cultivated. As a consequence, humanism shifted the emphasis from hair-splitting dogmatical speculations to ethics. "I wish," wrote Erasmus, "that there could be an end of scholastic subtleties and the Gospel be taught plainly and simply." Thousands felt that the springtime of modern progress had been ushered in. "O, Century," we hear Hutten exclaim, "the studies flourish, the spirits awake; it is a pleasure to live in thee." And Luther asserts, "If you read all the annals of the past, you will find no century like this, since the birth of Christ. Such building and good living and enterprise in commerce, such a stir in arts, has not been seen since Christ."

Different Types of Humanists

Italy was the cradle of Humanism. There and in the other Latin countries, France and Spain, the pagan type of the Renaissance prevailed. The passion for learning, art and culture was made a pretext for the revival of paganism and led to the coarsest forms of self-indulgence and looseness of morals, even at the papal court. This explains why the revival of letters did not produce any real reformation of religion. Italian piety has always been more of an emotional and ritualistic than of an ethical character. The intimate relation of the Italian people to the papacy and its corruption constitutes another reason. The mass of the people accepted the papacy as a fact, while to its dogmatical system they were profoundly indifferent, and, in common with popes and cardinals, laughed at the moral restraints of Christianity. There was also an economic reason. The very oppression which goaded Germany and England to revolt, brought gold into her coffers. "Here come the German sins," the Pope is reported to have joked, when vessels full of money, gained by selling indulgences, arrived. Hence the Italian was the least likely to feel the moral reproach of a system which thus redounded to his advantage. If reform was to come at all, it must spring from the heart of races endowed with a deeper moral consciousness. And these were the Northern peoples. In Germany, Switzerland and England, Humanism was profoundly Christian in interest, in feeling and in its moral aspirations. The Renaissance in these

countries, although it had its great artists and architects, found expression primarily in education, in the overthrow of scholasticism and the traditional methods of study. The marked feature of the Renaissance was contempt for purely traditional authority and methods, whether in art, literature, science or religion. The spirit of the new scientific method was one of critical investigation; its motto was: "Go and find out."

5. Political Dissatisfaction a Cause.

At the opening of the sixteenth century Germany and England were seething with political discontent and found themselves on the verge of an outbreak against the papacy. The constant interference of the Pope with the liberties of nations and their rulers called out a strong antagonism between Romanism and the champions of a national independence. Besides waging war himself against rulers, the Pope was constantly intriguing to stir up strife between nations and rebellions between the nobles and their sovereigns. For centuries bloody wars were periodically carried on between the Pope and the German Emperors. Moreover, the Pope claimed not only spiritual, but also secular supremacy. And in the Middle Ages, the Pope was not content with merely putting forth these claims to world rulership; he measurably succeeded in realizing his ideals. Under Innocent III (1198–1216) the papal supremacy reached its climax. Kings were to the Pope as the moon to the sun—a lower luminary shining with borrowed light. Acting on this theory, he deposed the German Emperor Otho IV and had Frederick II appointed in his stead. He also deposed John, the king of England, and gave his dominions to the king of France. Only after the most abject humiliation John was reinstated, but only "in fee" from the Pope. It was in England, therefore, long before Henry VIII broke with the Pope, that the Parliament, by the famous Act of Praemunire, repelled the papal claim that England was subject to the Pope in secular affairs. In Denmark, Sweden and Norway it was also strongly felt that good government was unattainable until the power and wealth of the Romish clergy was broken. Hence the modern political life of those Scandinavian countries really begins with the reformation of their churches. In Switzerland it was Zwingli who in

the most vigorous language attacked papal interferences in the affairs of the state. Yet, while political affairs had a most potent influence on the rise and development of the Reformation, it is not true to history to assert that political conditions were the primary cause of the great movement. Fisher ("Reformation," p. 4) is correct in saying that, while the political side of the Reformation is of great importance, both in the investigation of the causes and effects of Protestantism, this is far from being the exclusive or predominant element in the problem. Political agencies were rather an efficient auxiliary than a direct and principal cause." To the same effect Guizot concedes that the Reformation was essentially and from the very first a religious reform. As to politics, "they were its necessary means, but not its chief aim."

6. The Economic Cause.

The new theory of "economic determinism" has of late been applied to the Reformation also. This is the hypothesis that social and economic elements and conditions are the chief causes and factors in the rise and development of human ideas, movements, conditions and institutions. Without going the whole length with what its advocates call "the economic interpretation of history," the facts are indisputable that social and economic conditions were one of the most efficient causes that brought about the Reformation. It was in that period that Europe was undergoing a transformation from the agricultural to the capitalistic system, and this great economic mutation was producing a portentous social fermentation. Many things led to discontent with existing economic conditions. Up to the last quarter of the fifteenth century the position of the German peasant, although hard, was by no means unendurable. His clothing, though coarse, was warm; his food, though monotonous, was abundant. Rent, taxes and dues to his overlord, though high and vexatious, were not crushing. Although not a free man, he was far from being a slave. With the introduction of the Roman law and its widespread application about the beginning of the sixteenth century, the lot of the peasant became harder. The Justinian Code recognized but two classes, nobles and slaves. Under its provisions rents and feudal obligations became more burden-

some. The nobles in many cases seized the common woods and meadows, adjoining the villages, on which the peasants had from time immemorial been accustomed to pasture their flocks and herds, and to cut fuel. The peasant had almost no rights before the law which his overlord was bound to respect. Moreover, the extensive mining operations in Saxony and adjacent provinces withdrew from the agricultural population a large number of laborers. This tended to increase the exploitation of the remaining farm workers. About this time, too, took place what is known as the "Revolution in Prices," due primarily to an over-production of silver, especially in the mines of the Fuggers in Bohemia. Prices trebled and quadrupled within a short space of time, and, as usual, increase of wages did not keep pace with the increased cost of living. Famines, also, were widespread through Europe following the opening of the century, and thousands of peasants died of starvation. These famines also tended to raise the price of commodities of all kinds It seems not accidental that the son of a miner led the world in the work of reforming religious and social conditions.

Economic Conditions of Merchants and the Clergy.

These economic conditions stimulated trade and accelerated the growth of the cities. The merchants stood in evil repute and were believed to be the oppressors, not only of the common people, but also of the higher classes. Erasmus says of them: "Merchants are the vilest and most contemptible of men; they carry on the most despicable of all industries, and that moreover in the meanest fashion; and though they lie, perjure themselves, steal, cheat and in every way impose upon others, they set themselves up everywhere as the first of the land. A merchant would not succeed in growing rich if he applied his conscience to the question of usury and rascality." The clergy also took a stand against the merchants, and this explains why so many of the larger cities introduced the Reformation. Naturally the increasing wealth excited the cupidity of a corrupt Church and led to the employment of extortionate methods of raising money. The clergy were already very wealthy. They owned large estates and drew high rents. They also had the right to the tenth part of all other property; they

got money for baptisms, for marriages, for absolutions, for attending death-beds and funerals, and for saying masses. Large estates had been given them during the lifetime, or at the death of devout people. Laws had been passed trying to prevent or limit the bequests; but these laws had been so unsuccessful that at the time of the Reformation the Church owned almost one-third of the land in Europe. And although rich, they begged daily from the people. Part of this wealth went every year to Rome. When a bishopric was vacant, the revenues went to the pope, and for this reason the pope delayed the election of a successor. When another bishop was appointed, he had to send to the pope his first year's income, called annates. Frequently the pope appointed Italian bishops, and as these lived in Rome, their income was sent to them there. Luther, in his famous tract, "To the Nobility of the German Nation," pointed all this out with great minuteness and vehemence, and asked how long they were going to allow 300,000 Gulden to be sent every year out of their country to Rome. In view of these conditions, was it a wonder that the papacy was more and more looked upon by the people as a corrupt foreign power whose chief concern was to exploit the people? The knights, too, were dissatisfied. With the improvements in the methods of warfare and the development of the foot-soldier as an efficient military unit, their occupation was gone. At a time when money was becoming more and more a medium of exchange, they received their rents largely in farm products, which the lack of methods of communication made difficult to market. In dress and general luxuries they saw the wealthy citizens of the towns far outstrip them, and their attempts to emulate the rich burghers only involved the nobles in further financial difficulties. These and similar conditions make it clear that social and economic motives were a very decisive factor in bringing about the Reformation.

7. The Racial Cause.

National individuality based on racial affinity or aversion has been casually mentioned by some writers as one of the causes accounting for the rise and progress of the Reformation; but this motive deserves a more extended and careful consideration.

Meaning of the Term "Teutonic."

History and the present distribution of Protestantism leave no doubt that the Reformation was almost exclusively a Teutonic movement, that is, a revolt of the Teutons as a race against papal tyranny, which is the outgrowth of the spirit of the Latin race. Throughout this book the term "Teutonic" is used in its time-honored and historical sense, denoting the entire North-European race as a whole, of which the Germans, the Anglo-Saxons in England and Scotland, the Scandinavians, the Dutch, the Swiss, the Flemish in Belgium, the Finlanders, the Baltics, together with their descendants in America, South Africa and Australia are co-ordinate branches. Each of these nations has always claimed the common family name "Teuton," to which every one is entitled in view of their descent, their language and the character of their civilization.

The Facts of History.

The facts of history to sustain this contention are incontrovertible. To begin with, the two foremost leaders of the Reformation, Luther and Zwingli, were pure Teutons, and even Calvin had much more Frankish-Teutonic than Latin blood in his veins. Furthermore, all the above-mentioned branches of the Teutonic family, with the sole exception of the Flemish in Belgium, accepted the Reformation, either almost unanimously, like England and Scandinavia, or by overwhelming majorities. Moreover, all of these nations have remained loyal to Protestantism to this day. Yea, even that part of these Protestant nations that remained Roman Catholic has to a large extent developed into "Protestantized Catholics." On the other hand, conditions among the nations belonging to the Latin race are just the reverse. In Italy, Spain and Portugal the Reformation made a feeble beginning, but the struggle finally proved ineffectual. In France, due to its large proportion of Frankish-Teutonic blood, the Reformation had at one time captured almost half of the nation, but the support was fitful and uncertain, and the movement was finally drowned in the blood of the noble Huguenots. Hence, to-day, according to recent estimates, 170 millions of all the Protestants in the world belong to the Teutonic race, and only about 12 millions to the Latin and other races. These facts prove our

contention. The Roman Church is reduced to where she belongs. She is Latin and Roman in spirit and principles, and therefore not adapted to the progressive Teutons.

Due to National Psychology.

Two main reasons may be assigned for the explanation of the facts stated: The one is racial characteristics and the other the despotic spirit of papal administration. Let us consider the first. Prof. Wundt, of Leipzig, and others have recently brought into a scientific system their careful observations, which show that nations and races have their own individuality as well as persons, and that racial peculiarities best explain national development as a whole, as well as certain outstanding facts in history. The name for this new branch of psychology is "Voelker Psychology" (Racial or National Psychology). Applied to the history of the Reformation, Wundt's theory works almost to perfection. Much has been written about what is called the predisposition of the Teutonic race in favor of Protestantism. Their very pronounced passion for liberty, the strong tendency toward individualism, their sense of loyalty, the frankness and sincerity in all their dealings, the strong development of conscience and especially the spirituality of their pagan religion—all these characteristics would naturally incline these peoples towards the acceptance of the Protestant type of Christianity. Of their religion, e. g., the first historian of the Germans, the Roman author Tacitus, writes in his beautiful little sketch "Germania" (Ch. 9 and 10) as follows: "They conceived it not worthy of the gods to be confined within walls, or to be represented by images. They submitted to no priestly caste, the head of each family exercising priestly functions." Grimm, in his "German Mythology" (p. 43), finds in these religious ideas of the pagan Teutons the complete germ of Protestantism. Also Hegel, the great German philosopher, attributes the inception and success of the Reformation to the "ancient and constantly preserved inwardness of the German people," in consequence of which they are not content to approach God by proxy, or put their religion outside of them, in sacraments and ceremonies, and in sensuous imposing spectacles." (Phil. der Geschichte, p. 499.) The great Church historian A. Neander says, to the

same effect (Church Hist., p. 81): "One peculiar characteristic for which the German race has ever been distinguished is their profound sense of the religious element in the inmost depths of the soul; their readiness to be impelled by the discordant strifes of the external world and unfruitful ordinances, to seek and find God in the deep recesses of their own hearts, and to experience a hidden life in God springing forth in opposition to barren conceptions of the abstract intellect that leave the heart cold and dead, a mechanism that converts religion into a round of outward ceremonies." Dr. Fisher (the Reformation, p. 72) agrees with the judgment of these authorities when he says: "It is not without truth that the Germans claim, as the native characteristic of their race, a certain inwardness, or spirituality in the large sense of the term . . . The German spirit of independence, or love of personal liberty, is a branch of this general habit of mind."

Teutonic Resistance to Rome.

These characteristics of the Teutonic nations explain the determined resistance against papal encroachments during the entire period of the Middle Ages and their persistent struggle for more religious freedom and a purer religion. Being of a spiritual turn of mind, they were chafing under the yoke of mere outward forms and childish ceremonies. They soon perceived that the worship of saints, the localizing of worship in a building, the innumerable images and symbols as objects of devotion, the pageants and processions, the sensuous element in worship were remnants of the old Latin paganism, and this discovery tended more and more to make the Roman Church appear to them as an institution, foreign to their real inner life. Moreover, as if by instinct and intuition, the Teutons became increasingly convinced that the papacy is simply the survival in religious guise of the spirit of the defunct Roman empire. In the great popes, Leo I, Gregory VII and Innocent III, they saw clearly illustrated the old Roman tendency to despotism, embodying as these popes did the idea of Roman imperialism, i. e., the endeavor to unify the Church by combining all its parts in a common subjection to Rome, in which the papacy has succeeded so admirably to the present day. The tyranny of old pagan Rome manifested itself in the entire

administration and the thousand restraints by which the Roman priesthood endeavored to circumscribe the freedom of the liberty-loving Teutons. For these reasons most of the reforming movements within the papal Church before the Protestant Reformation can be traced to Teutonic influences. Several times the papacy itself was saved from rottenness and destruction by the Emperors having German bishops elected to the Roman See. This spirit of German "Innerlichkeit" also explains why mysticism, the product of a craving for a religion of less show and more heart, had its stronghold in Germany.

Romanism a Religion for the Latins.

The same laws of Race Psychology explain why on the other hand the Latin nations cling so tenaciously to the Roman Church, and the Slavic peoples to Greek Catholicism, which is a still lower type of Christianity. In the first place, Romanism is so thoroughly an expression of the Latin spirit and hence so well adapted to the peoples of that race that they really cannot get very far away from it, even if they desired it. It is bone of their bone and flesh of their flesh. The Roman Church to this day is not only saturated by the Latin spirit, but is also ruled by men of Latin nationality and inspired by Latin ideals. Moreover, the softer southern races, fierce-tempered though they might be, were always more influenced by the sensuous ritual of the Roman Church and more indifferent to appeals to conscience, liberty and intellect than the sturdy northern people of the Teutonic family. The Latin and Roman type of Christianity being foreign to the innermost life of the Teutonic nations, the students of "Race Psychology" are, therefore, not at all puzzled at the fact that North-Europe, as soon as opportunity offered, broke loose from the enforced tutelage of Rome by a line nearly coincident with the race division.

Two Interesting Questions.

The preceding facts and observations raise two interesting questions. The first is, What is cause and what is effect? Do the Latins and Slavs cling to Roman and Greek Catholicism because they are by nature less virile, progressive, intellectual and moral than the Teutons; or do the Latin and Slavic na-

tions occupy a lower stage of culture and civilization because they are held in intellectual and moral slavery by these lower types of Christianity? The other question is, As the Latin nations (France, Spain, Italy, Portugal) are, in the words of Lord Salisbury, "dying nations," will the Roman type of Christianity succumb with them, or will it survive their decline and reform itself? The philosopher of history and the student of "Race Psychology" are puzzled for an answer.

Teutons Forced Into the Roman Fold.

The second reason for the restlessness of the Teutonic nations in the Roman Church will be found in the manner in which they were forced under the Roman yoke. It has been pretty well established that Christianity was introduced into Britain from Greek sources and that the British Churches were for a long time independent of Rome. Only after the conquest of Britain by the two German tribes, the Angles and Saxons, in 449, Romanism was introduced by the monk Augustine, who was sent by the pope. He compelled the independent British Church to submit to Rome. In Germany also the Churches enjoyed home rule to a large extent and developed a type of Christianity more adapted to their racial character until Boniface, who was appointed Primate of the German Churches by the pope, introduced papal imperialism. For this reason German historians insist that his name should be changed into "Malefacius." This loss of home rule the Teutons never entirely forgot. As if by instinct and intuition they scented, as it were, that there was more in the Gospel than what they received through the forms of this Roman mechanism. Hence the constant restlessness of the Teutonic Churches, their perennial insistence on reforms and the consequent suspicion of the popes of "those German heretics" to this very day. When, therefore, the time was fulfilled and a Saxon monk gave the signal to rise and leave the house of Roman bondage, the Teutonic race, as a race, followed loyally the leadership of the two Teuton chiefs, Luther and Zwingli. It is true that millions of Teutons in Germany, Great Britain, Holland, America, Switzerland and Austria remained behind, but Rome has lost the bulk of that sturdy race which to-day rules the world. This the pope realizes fully and is deeply de-

pressed over the defection. There is, therefore, poetic justice in the nationality of the leader of the Protestant Reformation. It was the Romanized Franks, spurred on by the pope, who, by means of a thirty years' war, forced the pagan Saxons under the Roman yoke, and it was, in turn, a Saxon, Martin Luther, who gave the signal of revolt.

Protestantism the Teuton's Religion.

In view of the preceding discussion, Prof. Harnark is correct in saying: "Just as Eastern Christianity is rightly called Greek, and the Christianity of Western Europe is rightly called Roman, so the Christianity of the Reformation may be described as German (i. e., Teutonic), in spite of Calvin. For Calvin was Luther's pupil, and he made his influence most lastingly felt, not among the Latin nations, but among the English, the Scotch and the Dutch," that is, among Teutons.

Commended Reading.

1. Stone, "Reformation and Renaissance,"
2. "The Influence of the Old Roman Spirit and Religion on Latin Christianity," in Fisher's "Discussions in History and Theology," p. 34.
3. Hulme, "The Renaissance, the Protestant Revolution and the Catholic Reformation in Continental Europe."
4. Harvey, A. E., "Economic Aspects of the Reformation," an able article in the "American Lutheran Survey."
5. Vollmer, Philip, "John Calvin," chapters 28-30.
6. Loria, "Economic Foundation of Society."
7. Rogers, "Economic Interpretation of History."
8. Vollmer, "The Inspirational Value of the Study of Church History."

CHAPTER III.

The Principle of the Reformation.

Different from the theories and causes of the Reformation is its principle, though all three elements of the movement have many features in common. The word principle is often used, in a somewhat loose sense, for the entire series of the fundamental teachings of the Reformation. But here we take the word in its more restricted meaning, denoting the one chief root out of which all the other phenomena of the Reformation grew and which therefore contains the substance of its energy, the ultimate element, the all-comprising truth, the living soul permeating the entire body of the movement. In this sense of the word, the principle of the Reformation may be said to contain substantially the same elements as the causes of the movement, only viewed from a different angle.

Christian Liberty is the Ultimate Principle.

This one fundamental, life-giving and life-sustaining principle of the Reformation is Christian liberty, controlled by the Word of God and enlightened human reason. Paul himself formulated it in his "Declaration of Christian Independence," addressed to the Galatians in the words: "For freedom did Christ set us free; stand fast, therefore, and be not entangled again in a yoke of bondage." It was from this source that the Reformers learned their lessons. Luther never tires of singing the praises of the freedom of a Christian. In a letter written a few days after the nailing of the Theses he signed his name: "Martin, the Free." "This idea," says Mr. Giffert, "was the most modern element in Luther's teaching and did more than anything else to undermine the authority of the Roman Church." In his exuberant style Luther exclaims: "My favorite epistle is Galatians, for it contains the charter of Liberty; it is my Katie" (referring to his wife). Out of this main root sprang forth the three sustaining roots which are usually called "the three principles of the Reformation": First, the supremacy or exclusive authority of the Scriptures,

which is concerned with the source of truth and is known as the objective or formal principle; second, the supremacy of faith over works, which treats of the substance of Christian truth and is known as the subjective or material principle; and third, the supremacy of the Christian people over the priesthood, which is concerned with the ministry of the truth and is commonly styled the social or Church principle of the Reformation. The higher unity of all these three principles is the idea of Christian liberty, into which they naturally resolve themselves.

Luther's "Primary Works."

All the principles, both ultimate and secondary, are succinctly stated and thoroughly interpreted in what are known as Luther's three "Primary Works," all of which were published in 1520. In his address "To the Christian Nobility of the German Nation Respecting the Reformation of the Christian Estate" he appeals to the laymen. With astonishing vigor, freshness, humor, good sense and intense moral indignation Luther denounces in this tract the corruption of the Church and the injury inflicted by the pope on the German people. "So tremendous an indictment, sustained with such intense and concentrated force, could hardly be paralled in literature," says Mace. The title of the second, "The Babylonian Captivity of the Church," sufficiently indicates its contents. Luther here shows how the papacy had fettered the Church and had robbed the bride of Christ of almost all the precious jewels received from Christ, her bridegroom, such as the Bible, direct access to God and the cup in the Lord's Supper. The third book is the beautiful tract on "Christian Liberty," a pearl among Luther's writings. In Luther's own words, "it is a summary of the Christian life, put together in small compass." In it he discusses in an almost inspired manner the two propositions, (1) "A Christian man is the freest Lord of all and subject to no man; but (2) he is at the same time the most dutiful of all and subject to every one." These three writings, together with Zwingli's "Freedom of Food," contain the very essence of the Reformation. They show profoundest insight into theological principles combined with the keenest apprehension of practical detail. The rest of

the Reformation in all Europe was but the application of the principles vindicated in these four booklets. These principles were applied in different countries with varying wisdom and moderation; but nothing essential was anywhere added to them. They are common to all Protestant denominations in America, though differently emphasized by the various groups of churches. It is often said that the Lutherans emphasize justification by faith; that the Calvinists stress the supremacy of the Bible, while Methodism is mostly interested in personal assurance of salvation. These and similar generalizations must all be taken with many allowances.

We are now prepared to discuss the three chief aspects of the one great ultimate principle of the Reformation; (1) freedom to approach God speaking in His Word; (2) freedom to enjoy justification by faith without dependence on any elaborate machinery and sacramental channels, interposed by the papacy between man and God; (3) freedom to exercise the common priesthood of every Christian.

1. The Scriptural or Material Principle.

In theory, the Roman Church has always recognized the Bible as the supreme source of truth. But in practice this doctrine has been made of little effect owing to a number of vital reservations, such as, that the Old Testament Apocrypha should be considered of equal value with the canonical writings; that the text of the Latin translation (The Vulgate) must be regarded as the standard, instead of the original text; and that tradition is of equal value with the written Word. Moreover, the Bible is declared to be so obscure that only the priesthood with an infallible pope at its head can interpret it. Over against this Roman practice the Reformers insisted in the words of Chillingworth that "The Bible, the whole Bible, and nothing but the Bible is the religion of Protestantism."

Luther's Declaration at Worms.

This principle found its best known public expression in the dramatic and defiant answer made by Luther, on April 18, 1521, to the Reichstag at Worms, when the German Emperor demanded of him to retract his teachings. Luther replied: "Since your Imperial Majesty, Electorial and Princely Graces,

demand a simple, artless and true answer, I will give one which shall have neither horns nor teeth; unless I be overcome and convinced by proofs of the Holy Scriptures or by manifestly clear grounds and reasons (for I believe neither the pope nor the councils alone, because it is an open and known fact that they have often erred and contradicted each other), and as I am convinced by those passages adduced and introduced by me, and my conscience is bound in God's Word, so that I neither can nor will recant, since it is not safe nor advisable to go against conscience. Here I stand; I cannot do otherwise. God help me. Amen." The Protestant world has always felt that four o'clock in the afternoon of April 18, 1521, was one of the world's decisive hours. A shout of triumph went up from the heart of millions when Luther's great confession became known. "How grandly did Brother Martin speak before the Emperor and the Estates of the Empire," exclaimed Luther's ruler, Frederick the Wise, the Elector of Saxony. In his report the pope's legate, Cardinal Aleander, says: "As Martin went out from the Imperial Hall, he raised his hand on high after the manner of the German soldiers when they exult over a good blow in a tournament." And well he might. It was a fierce battle, and Protestantism had won a glorious victory over papal tyranny. We moderns can hardly realize what such words on such a decisive occasion, spoken by an indomitable leader who was backed by millions of sympathizers all over Europe, meant for an age of unquestioned papal supremacy. It broke the spell which for centuries had hypnotized the Church. It is of that day and declaration Carlyle has said: "The Diet of Worms, Luther's appearance on the 18th day of April, 1521, may be considered as the greatest scene of modern European history; the point indeed from which the whole subsequent history of civilization takes its rise. The world's pomp and power sits there on this hand, on the other stands up for truth one man, the poor miner, Hans Luther's son. Our petition—the petition of the world—to him was: Free us—it rests with thee—desert us not. Luther did not desert us." Only to the clear teaching of the Word of God would he bow, and he would read it with his own and not with any other man's eyes. For all external authority he substituted the enlightened conscience of the individual Christian.

The Bible Sufficient and Plain.

This principle rests on the belief that in all matters that pertain to man's salvation the Bible is sufficient and plain, provided the means at hand are faithfully used. It also includes the right of private judgment in matters of religion. We may get much help from those who have larger knowledge and deeper insight, but before one can in any true sense believe, the truth must be apprehended by his own mind. Another may help me to think, but he cannot think for me. The Roman demand that man receive his religion by authority leaves all classes of people, even educated men, forever minors in religious matters, while the Protestant system trains the laymen toward maturity. The demand for the right of private judgment, moreover, presupposes that human reason may be trusted. At Worms Luther demanded, therefore, to be also convinced by "cogent reasons," and in 1522 he writes: "What is contrary to reason is certainly much more contrary to God." All this goes to show that Protestants do not undervalue the teaching of the Church nor the light of reason, but they subordinate both to the Word of God. And if, as is often the case, the Roman Church should object that the Church was first and really is the source of the Scriptures, the sufficient answer to this error is that "In the beginning was the Word," the spoken Gospel, and it was the Word that gave birth to the Church.

Consequences of the Scriptural Principle.

All Protestants have drawn the practical consequences from this principle. The whole Bible or parts of it have been translated into more than six hundred languages, and every imaginable effort has been made in all generations to open the Word of God to all classes of the people by means of teaching it by the dissemination of literature and by making preaching the essential part of the public services. Of the seven sacraments of the Roman Church only two, baptism and the Lord's Supper, were retained.

2. Justification by Faith.

With reference to the second principle of the Reformation, the Catholic Church also teaches that faith has a large share

in bringing man into a right attitude toward God. But this faith consists in man's assent to correct propositions concerning divine things, and being a part of divine grace, this faith is communicated to man exclusively through the channels of the sacraments, the absolute control of which is in the hands of the priesthood. The Reformers, on the other hand, properly understood by faith a gift of God's grace which leads men to repentance, and creates in his heart trust in God and loving obedience to His will. A trusting heart alone sets men right in the sight of God and inevitably leads to the sanctification of life. Thus stated, the doctrine of justification by faith is true to two well-attested facts of human life: first, that the motive power of character lies in the affections, so that in order to produce a renewed man there is no other way than to inspire in his heart a passionate love and trust of some worthy object; secondly, that actions do not so much determine character as are determined by it. Make the tree good and you will have good fruit. In Luther's forcible language such true "Faith is a living, busy, active, mighty thing, and it is impossible that it should not do good works without ceasing. It does not ask whether good works are to be done, but before asking it has done them already. You may as well separate burning and shining from fire, as works from faith."

Far-reaching Consequences.

From the first the Roman theologians fully understood the far-reaching consequences of the Reformers' insistence on the doctrine of justification by faith alone. In his "History of the Council of Trent," Paoli Sarpi says: "All the errors of Martin were resolved into that one point—justification; for this denies the efficacy of the sacraments, the authority of priests, the purgatory, the sacrifice of the Mass, and all other remedies for the remission of sins. Therefore he that will establish the body of the Catholic doctrine must first overthrow this heresy of justification by faith alone." Why did Luther succeed where the reformers before him failed? Cardinal Newman answers: "He adopted a doctrine, original, specious, fascinating, persuasive, powerful, against Rome and wonderfully adapted, as if prophetically, to the genius of the times. He found Christians in bondage to their works and observations;

he released them by his doctrine of faith." Remarkable concessions from a cardinal!

3. The Idea of the Church.

The logical outcome of the doctrine of justification by faith was the third principle of the Reformation of the common priesthood of all believers. This involves new conceptions of the Church, the ministry and the sacraments. When Catholic writers speak about the Church, they mean the pope, the bishops, the priests, the monks and nuns. These alone constitute the real active Church; the great body of believers are passive recipients of what the priests do for them. The lay members are called the passive Church, while the priesthood alone constitutes the active Church. According to Protestant teaching, the Church is composed of all those who truly believe in the Lord Jesus Christ and endeavor to obey His will.

All Christians Are Priests.

A Roman priest is a member of the Church, who by virtue of his consecration is elevated highly above every other Christian; he is a mediator between man and God, through whom alone God is pleased to transmit His grace into the hearts of men. Even a bad personal character will not neutralize his priestly functions. Over against this arrogance the Reformers insisted that according to the New Testament all Christians are truly of the spiritual state, and there is no difference among Christians, save of office alone. It is the inward anointing by faith which makes men priests. As such the most humble Christian has direct access to God, so that threats of refusal of absolution and the interdict will lose their terror. This Protestant doctrine puts the minister in his right place. He is a member of the Church who by his fellow-members has been elected for special service in the Church. There is no distinction between clergy and laity, except one of office only. The ordination, in Luther's words, is merely "taking one out of the whole body of those who possess equal power and committing to him the exercise of that same power for the rest." The names, laymen and clergy, may still be used from custom, but they have no real meaning any more in Protestant Churches. Protestants avail themselves gladly of every spirit-

ual assistance from their ministers, but they are taught not to submit their consciences to the control of any man. Christ alone is Lord of man's conscience. He is not absent from His people and needs therefore no priest to act for Him.

Nature of the Sacraments.

According to the teaching of the Roman Church the exclusive channels through which the substance of God's grace flows into man's life are the sacraments, controlled as to their efficacy by the priests alone. The Reformers differed among themselves in their views on the nature of the sacraments, but they all heartily agreed that God's grace and man's salvation cannot be infused into the soul from without by the priests and sacraments. Salvation is effected by faith, and the sacraments merely symbolize and seal to man this salvation. They are the gospel in symbol, and their special value consists in the fact that they declare more specifically and impressively what the preacher declares whenever he truly preaches the gospel.

Effect of Protestant Principles.

The teaching of these great principles had from the beginning the tendency of gradually changing the entire aspect and the spiritual atmosphere of the Christian life. It was truly a "proclaiming liberty to the captives." For ages men cursed and sighed and groaned under the heavy yoke of Rome, but did not dare to break from it, because the priesthood had succeeded in holding the people in the belief that the priest alone was the divinely appointed mediator between God and man, and that no man can be saved without the Roman Church. It is to the everlasting credit of the reformers to have freed millions of men from the horrifying thought that separation from Rome meant eternal damnation. What this liberation meant to men living four hundred years ago can hardly be realized by modern Protestants, but it may be measurably understood by observing the tyranny of the priests in Roman Catholic countries in our own age.

Commended Reading.

1. Vollmer, Philip, What Is Calvinism? in "John Calvin."
2. McGiffert, Protestant Thought Before Kant.
3. Beard, The Reformation, in Its Relation to Modern Thought and Knowledge.
4. Rust, John B., Modernism and the Reformation.
5. Luther, Primary Works, edited by Wace and Buchhein.
6. Luther, Christian Liberty, published by Lutheran Publishing House, Philadelphia.
7. Gibson, Protestant Principles.
8. Wace, Principles of the Reformation
9. Schaff, Philip, The Principle of the Reformation.
10. Lilley, Principles of Protestantism.
11. Dale, Protestantism: Its Ultimate Principle.
12. Curtis, A History of Creeds.

CHAPTER IV.

Types of the Reformation.

It betrays an altogether too mechanical conception of the nature of great movements to spend much time and energy in trying to fix an exact date for what is called the beginning of the Protestant Reformation. For the roots of this liberating struggle reach back as far as Paul, who persistently proclaimed the principles of Christian liberty in his great controversy with the Judaizers. The Reformation of the sixteenth century is, therefore, neither the beginning nor the end of the great reforming movement within the Church, but the culminating point, reached somewhat swiftly, of a process which had long been going on and which has continued up to our own time. It was a terrific explosion, the materials for which had long been accumulating, and the effects of which are still felt.

Duration of the Reformation.

The Protestant Reformation, in the narrower sense of the term, extends over a period of about one hundred and thirty years, from 1517-1648. Friends and foes have fixed on October 31, 1517, as its starting point, because of the dramatic effect and the ultimate consequences of the publication of Luther's 95 theses. The year 1648 is assumed as the close of this first period of Protestantism, because the Peace of Westphalia, ending the Thirty Years' War, signalled the relative triumph of the Protestant movement in its struggle for existence.

The liberating forces of the Reformation, from the first, branched out and have been transmitted to modern times, in four powerful currents: the Lutheran, the Reformed, the Anglican and the Anabaptist types of Protestantism. Each of these principal types has again been developed into a root from which hundreds of larger and smaller denominations have sprung, notably in England and Amer-

ica. The specific purpose of this book will permit us to give only a brief characterization of these types for general orientation, and to facilitate a more adequate grasp of the underlying philosophy of the entire movement.

I. The Lutheran Type.

Martin Luther was born November 10, 1483. On July 17, 1505, he entered the Augustinian Monastery at Erfurt, and in 1508 he was appointed professor in the University at Wittenberg. In 1511 he visited Rome on business for his order. On October 31, 1517, he nailed the 95 theses to the door of the castle church at Wittenberg. In 1520 he left the Roman Church by burning the papal bull of excommunication, and on April 18, 1521, he made his great confession before the Diet at Worms. On February 18, 1546, the great Reformer died.

Luther's Greatness.

Friends and foes, Germans as well as non-Germans, vie with one another in exalting the greatness of Luther. And it is remarkable that in these laudations the non-Germans clearly outdo the Germans. Dorner calls him the potentialized self of his age. Selden: Luther belongs to the limited number of truly great men; Bayard Taylor: Luther was one of the creative spirits of his age, the only reformer whose heart was as large as his brains; Fisher: Luther was the unquestioned hero of the Reformation; McGiffert: Luther was one of the most human of the world's great men; Vedder: Luther bestrode Europe like a Colossus, dwarfing all men of his time, because of the greatness of his personality; Heine: The polish of Erasmus, the benignity of Melanchthon, would never have brought us so far as the divine brutality of Brother Martin; Cardinal Newman: Luther is by common consent the central figure of the Protestant Reformation; Dr. Clark, the founder of the C. E. Societies: Luther has done more to change the history of the world than any other man since Paul; Froude: Had there been no Luther, the English people would be altogether

different from what they are. October 31, 1517, is the most memorable day in modern history; McMahon, a Roman Catholic: Luther was one of the greatest personages in the history of the human race; Michelet, also a Catholic: Luther is the restorer of liberty in modern times. Volumes might be filled with similar tributes.

Luther's Limitations.

Like all great men, Luther suffered from the excess of his virtues. His strong convictions often made him intolerant of other men's opinions. His cocksureness led to the divisions of the Protestants, which resulted in great disasters, including the Thirty Years' War. His language is often violent and coarse. His writings are full of contradictions, though this fact may not count against him, if one remembers that the Reformers, like all great leaders, were "growing men." Moreover, there is no class that deals more habitually in misrepresentations than do religious controversialists.

The Spread of Lutheranism.

Luther's teaching soon spread beyond Germany, to England, Scotland, Holland, Belgium, Poland, Italy, France, Spain, Denmark, Sweden, Norway and other countries. In several of them the Reformed or the Anglican types later superseded Lutheranism. Today the Lutherans claim over seventy millions of adherents. But as in these figures all Protestants in Germany are claimed as "Lutherans," the figure is much too high, since the majority of German Protestants belong to the various united Evangelical State Churches of the empire, which are the offspring of the union movement in 1817.

Lutheran Doctrine and Government.

The doctrinal standards common to all Lutheran Churches throughout the world are: The Augsburg Confession and Luther's two catechisms. In forms of worship the Lutherans enjoy great variety, extending all the way from the plainer Protestant forms to very elaborate liturgies, with candles

and chanting by the minister. A similar variety is found in their church government. Luther himself favored the Congregational principle, and wherever the Lutherans are free to choose they have practically introduced this form. In Germany and Scandinavia their churches are governed by state consistories and bishops. The Lutheran Church lays great stress on the educational and catechetical method for the propagation of religion. The general atmosphere of Lutheranism is intellectual, sincere, reverent and devotional. The type of piety which this spirit naturally develops is ethical rather than emotional.

II. The Reformed Type.

The Reformed type of Protestantism has followed a double line of development—the Zwinglian or German and the Calvinistic or Celtic.

The Zwinglian Branch.

Ulrich Zwingli was born on January 1, 1584, at Wildhaus in Switzerland and received his education at Basel, Berne and Vienna. In 1506 he was appointed priest at Glarus, and in 1516, a year before Luther, we find him preaching justification by faith at the very shrine of the "Black Mary" at Einsiedeln. In 1519 he removed to Zurich, where, in 1524, the Reformation was introduced. He died in 1531. From Zurich the Zwinglian movement spread to the Swiss cantons of Basel, Berne, Schaffhausen and to many sections of Germany.

Tributes to Zwingli.

Zwingli was the founder of the Reformed type of Protestantism. His figure has been unduly obscured by the fame of Luther and later by the success of Calvin. But, judged by its consequences, Zwingli's work was really as important as Luther's and more important than Calvin's, because he was an originator, while Calvin was his follower. He was the most modern of the Reformers, and many of his views have been adopted by modern men, and others

would be adopted if they were better known, especially among English-speaking Protestants. He was the Humanist among the Reformers, and this fact no doubt contributed greatly to the breezy and bracing atmosphere of good sense which surounds his exegesis and theology. He was much more independent of tradition than Luther, and his mental horizon was wider. His doctrine of the Lord's Supper rests upon a sounder exegesis than Luther's. He was a true patriot, and laid great stress on social and political reforms. In true Christian spirit he stood higher than Luther, as he showed at Marburg, in 1529.

The Reformation Under Calvin.

After Zwingli's death, in 1531, Calvin became the leader of Protestantism. Born on July 10, 1509, at Noyon, France, he studied for the priesthood, but was never ordained. In 1532 we find him at Paris in the company of Protestants. In 1536 he published the "Institutes of the Christian Religion," the first text-book of the Reformed type of theology. Soon after he traveled through Geneva and was held there by Farel, under whose influence, in 1535, the city had introduced the Reformation. In this French city he began to enforce church discipline. But licentious Geneva would not tolerate this interference with their "liberty." Calvin was banished and went to Strasburg. In Geneva matters went from bad to worse, and after repeated requests Calvin returned and worked there until his death, in 1564. Beza succeeded Calvin and carried on his work with great success.

Estimates of Calvin.

Both in time and development of doctrine Calvin belongs to the second generation. He is the organizer and systematizer of what had already been started by others. But his manner of organizing is so original that the system which he constructed exerts a most powerful influence on religious thought to this very day. Though Calvin acknowledges Luther rather than Zwingli (of whom he does not speak very respectfully) as his master, yet it is Zwingli's,

rather than Luther's, thoughts which Calvin systematized. Calvin was a man of strong faith, deep humility and of unbounded loyalty to convictions. He was an intellectual giant, and much more consistent in his teaching than Luther. He was an aristocrat by education and taste. He has been considered cold and harsh, but his friends speak of the shy, reserved Frenchman in terms of affectionate tenderness. However, Calvin was not a saint. Fisher writes: "We find in Calvin an acerbity, which is felt more easily than described, a censorious spirit which was repellant. He himself deplores what he calls 'the wild beast of my anger.'" In the opinion of the historian Ranke, though he thinks very highly of Calvin, "the controversial writings of this Reformer belong to the most vehement that have ever been produced."

The Spread of the Reformed Faith.

The Reformed type of Protestantism, especially in its Calvinistic form, spread rapidly over France, Scotland, England, Holland and Hungary. Even in the Reformed sections of Germany a moderate type of Calvinism gradually supplanted Zwinglianism. In Scotland John Knox, a pupil of Calvin, became the leader of the Reformation. Throughout the world the Reformed and Presbyterians number over thirty millions.

Characteristics of Calvinism.

The family name common to all the followers of Zwingli and Calvin is: "The Reformed Church;" that is, the church re-formed, restored to its former Apostolic purity. This name separates all Calvinists from the Lutherans. When, however, in the seventeenth century, the controversy as to the New Testament form of church government became the all-obsorbing subject, the three parties to the struggle in Great Britain dropped the common family name and called themselves after the specific governments which each party favored: Episcopalians (from the Greek "*episcopus*"—bishop); Presbyterians (from the Greek *presbyteros*—elder); Congregationalists (from *congregatio* — the local

church). In theory Zwingli and Calvin agreed with Luther that the Church should enjoy self-government. But none of them, owing to the conditions of the times, could carry this theory into practice. In Lutheran as well as Reformed countries the civil authorities practically ruled the Church. Only in those countries, as in America, where the Church and state are rigidly separated, have the Protestant Churches put their theories into practice. In these countries the Reformed bodies adhere strictly to the Presbyterial, that is, the representative, form of government. As to their doctrinal position, all the Reformed and Presbyterian Churches have adopted what may be called generic Calvinism. Their two best known creeds are the Westminster Standards and the Heidelberg Catechism. In principle and practice all the Reformed and Presbyterian churches favor an order of service plain, devotional, reverent, but free.

III. The Anglican Type.

Luther's Reformation found many friends in England. But King Henry VIII. was against the movement. Later, however, the king, for political and personal reasons, severed the connection of the English Church with the papacy. But this did not lead to a true Reformation. Only after the king's death did Archbishop Cranmer succeed in introducing some features of a real Reformation. But because too many elements of the Roman Church were retained in England, a more radical purification of the Church in doctrine, liturgy and government along the lines of the continental churches, was demanded by an ever-increasing number of sturdy men. Because of this demand they became known as "Puritans." Harsh measures were used against them, especially under Queen Elizabeth. An English historian, John R. Greene, declares that "no woman ever lived who was so totally destitute of the sentiments of true religion as Queen Elizabeth." She would go as far as the most ultra Protestant in the matter of political independence from Rome, but she fought the Puritans to a frazzle when they demanded purer religion and higher morality. By

the notorious "Act of Conformity" every minister was compelled to accept this half-Romish religion or be deposed. Many fled to the continent. When James I. (the father of our "King James Version" of the Bible) became king, he said: "I will make the Puritans conform or I will harry them out of the land." Under Charles I. this conflict led to a rebellion under Cromwell's leadership, which cost the king his head. Cromwell, the leader of the Puritans, now became Lord Protector of England. The final result of all these conflicts was that many separated from "The Church of England" and are known in England by various names, such as Dissenters, Nonconformists, Independent or Congregationalists. The Puritans who landed at Plymouth Rock in 1620 belong to these dissenters, and the Congregational denomination in America is the daughter of these Puritans. With respect to doctrine and general church life the Congregationalists belong to the Calvinistic group of Churches. They claim 4,355,000 adherents throughout the world.

Characteristics of the Anglicans.

In all British possessions the official title of the Anglicans is "The Church of England;" while in the United States they are known as "The Protestant Episcopal Church." Everywhere a deep cleavage divides this communion into two factions, known as the Low and the High Church parties. The former adhere loyally to the principles of Protestantism, while the latter lean strongly towards Rome and desire to be known as "Anglo-Catholics." For several years a change in the official name of their Church has been advocated by this faction, upon the ground that the word "Protestant" in the title apparently allies it with those denominations having their origin in the Reformation, while in reality, they assert, it traces its history to the Apostolic age without a break. Many names have been suggested, among them being "The American Episcopal Church," "The Catholic Church of America," "The American Catholic Church" and "The Anglo-Catholic Church." According to their official creed, the Thirty-nine Articles,

and their origin, the Episcopalians are moderately Calvinistic, but in practice all types of theology may be found among their leaders, from Romanism to Armenianism. By law the supreme head of the Church of England is the king of Great Britain, while in America the Episcopalians are governed by bishops. In its forms of worship the denomination is halting between Protestant and Roman principles and practices. They claim over 26 million adherents throughout the world. The Church is thoroughly British in spirit, and is therefore only found among English-speaking nations, while all the other types of Protestants breathe a more universal spirit, and are therefore more or less found among all nations. (Compare in Chapter I. the section, "The High Church Theory.")

IV. The Anabaptist Type.

Parallel with the three types described runs a distinct radical stream of Protestantism. Because most of these groups are agreed in repudiating infant baptism and in insisting on the rebaptism of those baptized in infancy, all of them were called by their opponents Anabaptists or Rebaptizers; German, Taeufer; Dutch, Doopgesinte. In course of time this name came to be the common appellation for all radicals among the Protestants of the Reformation period, irrespective of their attitude on baptism. The people so designated have always repudiated the name "Anabaptists" as a term of reproach. As a matter of fact, it is indeed misleading, inasmuch as it characterizes neither their regulating principle, nor the real nature of their aims. But as it is almost impossible to change historical names, though recognized to be inadequate, the descendants of these sturdy defenders of a radical type of Protestantism are now using this old name themselves, some of them having even adopted it in a modified form as their denominational title. This is only natural, as many of our most cherished historical names of honor, such as Christian, Protestant, Lutheran, Methodist, originated as names of reproach. On the other hand, since we have to-day more light on the fundamental

principles of those radical Protestants, and cultivate, we trust, more fairness and love of truth than our forefathers possessed, it seems to be high time for modern church historians, who lay claim to the historical spirit, to stop classifying all groups of Anabaptists indiscriminately as "heretics" and "sects." For as a matter of historical truth they represented a distinct type of true reformers, whose great significance consists in the fact that they insisted on principles and practices most of which have in the course of centuries been accepted by many other Protestants.

Different Groups of Anabaptists.

Owing to their spirit of independence and individualism, their wide-spread distribution, as well as to the consequent absence of a common creed and of any central organization, we find various divisions among the Anabaptists, as among other Protestants. Dr. Newman (Church Hist. II., p. 156) gives the following illuminating classification:

1. The Chiliastic Anabaptists, represented by Thomas Muenzer and the Zwickau prophets. At Muenster their leader, John of Leyden, undertook to establish the millennium, which attempt was accompanied by the merciless slaughter of "the ungodly" and the grossest immorality.

2. The Biblical Anabaptists. Three of their chief leaders were: (*a*) B. Hubmaier, a man of great learning, an eloquent preacher, a man of a fine liberal spirit and as well fitted for leadership as any of the other Reformers; (*b*) *Menno Simons,* a man of exalted character, genuine piety and a born organizer. He accepted the leadership of those Anabaptists who had not been carried away by the Muenster Chiliastic fanatics; (*c*) Jacob Huter, a man of a quiet spirit and deep earnestness.

3. The Mystical Anabaptists, who laid stress on the "inner light," and therefore had little use for sacraments and ordinances. Their leaders were Schwenkfeld and Deuck.

4. The Anti-Trinitarian Anabaptists, under the leadership of Servetus and Socinus.

Characteristics of the Anabaptists.

The summary judgment of these men by the Catholics, the Lutherans and the Reformed of the Reformation period cannot be accepted to-day without careful discrimination. For all of them were treated alike, from the pure and pious enthusiasm of Hubmaier, Menno Simons and Huter to the licentious fanaticism of John of Leyden. Each one was charged with the excesses of the few. But men must be judged by the chief aims of their best elements, and not by their weak points and the faults of individual representatives of a movement. The Anabaptists differed from the Lutheran and Reformed leaders on two essential principles, on the nature of the Church and on the true idea of the Christian life. The church must be composed of converted men only, or at least of those who personally profess their faith. Hence, infant baptism they regarded as unbiblical. They insisted on the independence of the local congregation and the absolute separation of Church and state. Physical compulsion in matters of religion, war, oaths and capital punishment, they considered unchristian. They believed that the kingdom of God was a realizable ideal in human society. Some of them, like the Huterites, favored strict community of goods, and all of them held that earthly possessions should at all times be used for the relief of the needy brother. Half-consciously they also grasped the modern principle of the continuity of revelation. Why, they asked, may not God speak to man now as He did of old? Why limit the function of the Holy Spirit in man to the interpretation of the ancient revelation recorded in the Bible? Hence, the "inner light" and the gifts of prophecy were considered essential principles by the Anabaptists.

Anabaptists Ahead of Their Times.

To-day most Protestants admit that the principles of the Anabaptists were little else than a more consistent application of the implications of the teachings of the other reformers. We see now more clearly that they represented a distinct advance beyond Luther, Zwingli and Calvin. They were far ahead of their times, true prophets of a future de-

velopment. The proof of this lies in the fact that to-day almost all of their essential principles are being incorporated into the teaching and life of an ever-increasing number of other Protestants, especially in America.

The great family of Baptist Churches, including the various branches of the Mennonites, claim about 21 million adherents throughout the world. They are strongest in America.

Commended Reading.

In most private and in all public libraries some useful material on the Reformation will be found. This year of jubilee of the Reformation is the time to take these books from the shelves and read them. As the object of the present volume is not to relate the facts of the Reformation, but to discuss its underlying principles and philosophy, we will point out just a few of the many thousands of volumes where the reader may find the history of the great movement.

1. Vedder, The Reformation in Germany.
2. D'Aubigne, History of the Reformation of the 16th Century, 5 volumes.
3. Good, J. I., Famous Reformers of the Reformed and Presbyterian Churches.
4. Good, J. I., Reformed Reformers.
5. Ranke, History of the Reformation in Germany.
6. Schiller, Friedr., Abfall der Niederlande, und Der 30-Jaehrige Krieg.
7. Fisher, History of the Reformation.
8. Schaff, Ph., Church History, vol. 6 and 7.
9. Lindsay, A History of the Reformation.
10. McGiffert, Life of Luther.
11. Smith, Preserved, Life and Letters of Luther.
12. Vollmer, Philip, John Calvin.
13. In the series "Heroes of the Reformation" will be found Life of Luther, Jacobs; Life of Calvin, Walker; Life of Zwingli, Jackson; Life of Cranmer, Pollard; Life of John Knox, Cowan; Life of Hubmaier, Vedder.
14. Hinke, W. J., Life and Letters of John Philip Boehm.
15. Harnack, History of Dogma, Vol. 7 on The Types of the Reformation.
16. Richards, G. W., Studies of the Heidelberg Catechism.
17. Van Horne, D., Life of Zwingli.

CHAPTER V.

Results of the Protestant Reformation.

Of what nature were and still are the fruits growing on the tree of the Reformation? Various and discordant are the answers given to this question. "Bad, and only bad," assert the foes of the movement; "disappointing," answer many of its friends; "insignificant," proclaim modern radicals. Even in the face of the present world-war, when it would seem that the worst of human passions were inflamed to the utmost, Pope Benedict XV., on November 22, 1914, could not refrain from speaking of Protestants as "emissaries of satan, who set up pestilential pulpits, and, like Luther and Calvin, by diabolical machinations commit the abominable robbery of the people's faith and seek their perdition." This is a small sample of similar denunciations from the same sources which would fill volumes. But even the Reformers themselves and many of their friends are heard to express their great disappointment that the fruits of the preaching of the pure gospel should not be more plentiful and luscious. Finally, certain types of radical critics have formed the habit of looking down upon the great work of the Reformers, and with supercilious airs pronouncing it insignificant.

The Reformation a Slow Process.

In answer to these and other groups of critics of the Reformation, it should be observed, first of all, that the Reformers shared the experience of enthusiasts in all ages, in that progress seemed to them too slow and success disappointing. True reformers are by temperament idealists, and idealists are by nature strict censors. Thus it happens that the friends of a movement are often its most exacting critics. It is in the light of this common experience that the complaints of the Reformers must be understood. These complaints are, therefore, no indication that matters became worse after the break with Rome. Moreover, the habits of centuries were not to be unlearned within a few years. It

was natural that new ideas, struggling into existence and activity, should work erringly and imperfectly for a time. Men who know what it means to train up children and to reform erring individuals, should not become impatient when great nations with an evil heritage in their moral fibre respond but slowly to reformatory influences. Much of the deplorable condition that prevailed in the Reformation period was by no means the result of Protestant teaching, but an inheritance from the preceding ages, the fruit of the Roman system. Hence, when Catholic writers succeed in proving deplorable conditions in the sixteenth century, they but make the indictment of their own system the stronger. For instance, the evil advice which Luther gave to Philip of Hesse in his marriage affairs was simply an echo of the abominable old Romish system of granting papal dispensations from moral obligations. Pope Clement VII., the only decent pope of that age, gave similar advice to Henry VIII. of England. But both Luther and Clement VII. had been taught to believe that bigamy was better than legal divorce. On the other hand, the fact must never be overlooked in this connection that the majority of Lutherans regarded Philip's bigamy as a black stain on their cause, and Melanchthon was brought nigh to death's door as a result of his part in this deplorable transaction. Finally, the meagreness of good results may further be explained by the well-known observation that only strong characters can suddenly part with restraints, such as the Reformers declared to be unnecessary, without moral loss, at any rate for a time. Luther's liberating teaching seemed like telling immature children that from now on they might settle their own hours of play and work, and decide what they would have to eat and drink. "The people cry, gospel," says Erasmus, "but they make it mean what they please." Moreover, during the first period of every movement for emancipation there are always men who abuse their greater freedom and mistake liberty for license. But all these risks must be resolutely taken, or else the world would never move forward. The child must be allowed to walk alone, no matter how many falls and even injuries this may entail.

Any supercilious or patronizing attitude toward the Reformers indicates, therefore, a lack of the historical spirit and of the sound principles underlying all race development. How can we expect the Reformers to see things with twentieth century eyes? They would have been more than mortals could they have done so. Where is the fairness in criticising these great men for not realizing all the implications of their principles in actual life, when we, living four hundred years after them, not only have not done so, but have even fallen behind them in many ways. With these preliminary observations we shall now proceed to enumerate some of the great blessings and the far-reaching results of the Protestant Reformation.

1. A More Spiritual Religion.

The Reformers made religion an inner possession—the life of God in the hearts of men,—not dependent on external ceremonies, sacraments and stolid obedience to the priesthood, but on union with God. "Have we ever thought," says Prof. Harnack, "what an immeasurable blessing it is to have in the world now nearly two hundred million Protestants who serve God without any priest, independent of sacred places, seasons and ceremonies?" No, we have not. Long and secure possession of valuable things easily leads to a disregard for them, and familiarity breeds contempt. All our lay activity and our Bible study are fruits of the Reformation. Luther and Zwingli stand out so prominently from among all previous Reformers because they soon saw with a keen eye as the real point, that the whole flood of corruption proceeded from papal externalization of religion, and that, therefore, the papacy cannot and should not be reformed, but must be utterly overthrown. Unless the root of the evil be destroyed, mere outward reforms would be at best transient. All earlier attempts at reformation had failed, partly from lack of popular intelligence, but mostly through wrong aims to reform the hierarchy.

2. An Ethical Type of Piety.

The Roman Church has always endeavored to go down to the very foundations of life and take everything within its

grasp. Men can neither be born or married, do business, die or be saved without the control of the Church. Asceticism was the highest ideal of the Christian life. As only few could live this life, these were and are still called "the religious." Conscience, which is the faculty of deciding between right and wrong, was placed entirely in the keeping of the priest. This spirit of implicit faith and unquestioning obedience was destructive of all individuality. In extirpating this false idea of religion, the Reformers did exceedingly good work, as well as by the inculcation of sound principles of Christian morality. First of all, they emphasized the purifying power of the Holy Spirit through the gospel. True faith must and will bear good fruits. Faith does not free men from obligations, but only from any excessive valuation of them. While Luther was averse to all Draconian severity, which has the tendency to drive vice for a while under the surface, the Reformed and Anabaptists laid greater stress on laws and regulations for the repression of immorality. "Man's conscience," says Luther, "is directly responsible to God and not to the priest." To serve God is nothing else but doing good to our neighbor, as Christ said in Matthew 25. He needs our services; God in heaven needs them not. Let any one go on a pilgrimage who feels compelled to go; but let him learn that God can be served at home a thousand times better by giving the money which the journey would cost to the poor, or to his wife and children, and by bearing his cross in patience. By precept and example the Reformers destroyed the illusion that real "religious life" was only possible in a monastery. All lawful modes of life may be consecrated to God. "What you do in your home," says Luther, "is worth as much as if you did it up in heaven for our Lord God. The work of a kitchen maid may be a service of God, far surpassing the asceticism of all monks and nuns." It is difficult to estimate, after four hundred years of light, the service which the Reformers have done to society by teaching men that Romanism and monasticism may be hindrances rather than helps toward leading a truly Christian life.

3. Contribution to Race Culture.

The marriage of the Reformers was a liberating act of the most far-reaching influence on private and social morality, as well as on race culture. By this course they honored womanhood and emphasized the true Bible teaching on marriage, as a benefit to man and not a hindrance to higher morality. Furthermore, by emphasizing the fact that celibacy is not a higher, but a lower social state than marriage, they loosened the hold of the papacy on the individual minister by putting him into more natural relations to society. This also opened the way for a lightening of conscience to thousands of priests. For almost every parish priest in those times had in his house an unacknowledged wife and children. The Reformers rose up in hot rebellion against this frightful state of things and demanded a return to decent and natural living. They demanded a type of piety consisting in ethical living, and denounced all ceremonial, ascetic and emotional sanctimoniousness in the sharpest terms.

Rome Hindering Race Culture.

Without intending it, or even knowing the consequences, the Reformers made an immense contribution to race culture by abolishing the enforced celibacy of the Christian ministers. Francis Galtin, in his book on "Hereditary Genius," says: "Whenever a man or a woman was possessed of a gentle nature that fitted him or her to do deeds of charity, to meditation, to literature or art, the social condition of the times was such that they had no refuge elsewhere than in the bosom of the Church. But the Church chose to preach and exact celibacy, and the consequence was that these gentle natures had no continuance, and thus, by a policy so singularly unwise and suicidal that I am hardly able to speak of it without impatience, the Church brutalized the breed of our forefathers. She acted precisely as if she had aimed at selecting the rudest portion of the community alone to be parents of future generations. She practiced the arts which animal breeders would use who aimed at creating ferocious, currish and stupid natures. No wonder that club-law prevailed for

centuries over Europe; the wonder rather is that enough good remained in the veins of Europeans to enable their race to rise to its present very moderate level of natural morality."

4. The Evangelical Parsonage a Result.

From this it appears that by abolishing compulsory celibacy, the Reformation has introduced a factor of great cultural value. "Justin Moeser," says Rancke (Hist. II., 465), figured out in 1750 that even at that time from ten to fifteen millions of human beings owed their existence to this act of the Reformers, for which achievement," he declared, "statues should be erected to them as the sustainers of the human race." From expressions frequently heard in the more independent sections of the Roman Catholic Church, it is evident that the importance of the Protestant parsonage is being more and more recognized as a factor in race culture. Recently a German Catholic author wrote as follows: "The state of celibacy has had a most harmful effect upon the people, as well as upon the clergy themselves. It represents a kind of robbery of society, by which the further propagation of a certain percentage of educated and morally developed people is prevented, and its effect is positively detrimental to the progress of the race. The Protestant pastor's family is a center of culture and education, a mission headquarters for higher ideals for the whole congregation and the whole neighborhood. In the nature of the case, the home of the priest can never exert the same influence. It is one of the remarkable features of the higher educational history of Germany, as also of other countries, that no other class has produced such a large number of great scholars, officials, leaders in thought and action, both men and women, as the number produced by the Protestant parsonage. On the other hand, the inferiority of the Roman Catholic intelligence, as compared with the Protestant, as well as the superiority of the Protestants, even in Roman Catholic countries, in wealth and station, is one of the results of present conditions. The complaint is commonly heard that the Roman Catholic clergy have little sympathy and understanding in dealing

with the needs and feelings of the lower classes. This complaint arises chiefly in France, and it must be confessed that it is caused by the fact that the clergy have no families and no family life. In further discussion of this subject, a series of articles has recently appeared in the Berlin *Nationalzeitung* on 'Das Evangelische Pfarrhaus,' ('The Protestant Pastor's Family'). It furnishes some indirect evidence in favor of a married clergy, by giving full statistics which show how much of the best and most successful intellectual and practical work of the nation and the world has been done by the sons of Protestant clergymen. It describes the Protestant parsonage as 'the greatest home of culture and morality and character in the nation.'"

5. Roll of Honor of Famous Sons of Ministers.

Dr. F. Von Schulte, in his book, "Descent of 1600 German Scholars," credits the German Evangelical parsonage with the following contribution to science: 319 theologians, 54 physicians, 28 scientists, 112 jurists, 120 philosophers and philologists, 12 diplomats, 77 historians, 109 authors of general literature. Being a liberal Catholic, Schulte seeks to prove by these 831 names that German Protestantism owes much of its eminence in all branches of scholarship to the evangelical parsonage, while the Catholic priesthood, owing to enforced celibacy, has absolutely nothing to its credit along these lines.

A prominent Frenchman, Monsieur De Candolle, a skeptic, some time ago submitted figures to prove his assertion that the sons of clerical families have actually surpassed during two hundred years in their contributions to the roll of eminent men the similar contributions of any other class of families. Here is a selection from his list:

Eminent scientists: Agassiz, Berzelius, Boerhaave, Encke, Enler, Linnæus, Olbers, Brown and Gregory, Morse, the inventor of the telegraph; Jenner, who discovered the efficacy of vaccination, and Schlieman, the famous archæological excavator.—Historians who were the sons of clergymen are: Hallam, Bancroft, Robertson, Woodrow Wilson, Sismondi,

Froude, Macaulay and Parkman.—Among intellectual philosophers are: Hobbes, Emerson, Hartley, Fuller, Dugald Stewart, Cudworth, Reid, Brown, Boyle, Abercrombe, Bentham and Noah Porter.—That literature has profited by the contributions of ministers' sons is shown in the names of Swift, Lockhart, Sterne, Hazlitt, Thackaray, Holmes, Kingsley, Matthew Arnold, Goldsmith, Bellamy, Addison, Coleridge, Donald G. Mitchell and a hundred others.—Among journalists are William T. Stead, Boynton and Archibald Forbes, the great war correspondent.—This class contributes to architecture: Sir Christopher Wren and Scott; to art, Sir Joshua Reynolds; and to heroism, Lord Nelson.—Among the eminent men in civil life are: Henry Clay, Edward Everett, Aaron Burr, Sir William Harcourt, John B. Balfour, William Forster, and Presidents Arthur and Cleveland, and John Q. Adams, a grandson.—Prominent lawyers who are the sons of clergymen are: Chief Justice Lord Ellenborough, of England; Steven J. Field, David Brewer, Thurlow, Lord Campbell, Lord Robertson, the Lord of Appeals; and David Dudley Field.—The names of Cecil Rhodes, of South Africa; Clarkson, the philanthropist; Cyrus Field, the organizer; and of John Hancock and Samuel Chase, signers of the Declaration of Independence, add honor to this roll.—Let us call the roll of the poets: Leigh Hunt, James Thompson, William Cowper, James Montgomery, the great Alfred Tennyson, James Russell Lowell, Young, Crashaw, Ben Johnson, Oliver Wendell Holmes, John Keble, author of "The Christian year."—The hymn writers are: John Mason Neal, who wrote "Jerusalem, the Golden;" Charles Wesley, Reginald Heber, author of "From Greenland's Icy Mountains;" Beddome, Chandler, Caswell, Coxe, Tate and Ware.—How many ministers' sons have become eminent in civil life! Henry Clay, Burr, the Everetts, down to our last Presidents, Arthur, Cleveland and Wilson.

6. Famous Daughters of Ministers.

As to their daughters, their names are merged into others, but there is a significant fact, that not only here, but in

Europe, where titles are so highly prized, and the possession of gentle blood is a passport to high places, it is very often referred to as a matter of note, as indicating safety and respectability: "His mother was the daughter of a clergyman." Some of the famous daughters of ministers are: Mrs. Trollope, Mrs. Barbauch, Jane Taylor, Elizabeth Carter, the Brontes and Mrs. Stowe. Dr. Haven draws from these facts the conclusion that "three-fourths of the great men of this nation are not over two degrees removed from clergymen's families, or from families strictly religious. When it can be said of a man or woman that his father or grandfather was a clergyman, there is a feeling within us of a certain elevation of character—a kind of guarantee of respectability of blood, purity and integrity." We are far from trying to exalt ministers' children above the offspring of other conscientious parents. We merely mean to demonstrate another far-reaching blessing of the Reformation, and in so doing, incidentally correct a wrong impression about ministers' children.

7. Celibacy Limits the Supply of Ministers.

There has lately appeared in the *Renaissance* at Munich, from the pen of the well-known "Reform Catholic" editor, Dr. Joseph Mueller, an article entitled, "Zum Thema Priesterzœlebat" ("On the Subject of the Celibacy of the Priests"). He says in substance: "Recent statistics published in Wuertemberg show that the Protestant clergy of that kingdom receive about two-thirds of their additions from the educated classes, and that fully one-third are the sons of Protestant clergymen. Only one-third of the Protestant pastors come from the families of the peasants and the lower classes of society. These statistics reveal conditions similar to those prevailing in all Protestant lands. The great majority of Protestant clergymen come from the higher and more educated ranks. On the other hand, these same statistics show that a preponderance of Roman Catholic clergymen come from the lower social ranks. Exceedingly few belong to educated and cultured families, and it is apparent that many men enter the ranks of the priesthood to escape the dis-

agreeable features of poverty and adopt the sacred calling largely by compulsion. And yet, notwithstanding this, there is an insufficient number of priests, due solely to compulsory celibacy. Not only that, but the large contingent of ministers' sons which augments the ranks of the Protestant clergy is entirely lacking in the case of the Roman Catholic Church." This disposition of sons to follow the callings of their fathers makes divinity conspicuously hereditary. That it takes two generations to make a preacher, the following names show: Henry Ward Beecher, Jonathan Edwards, Frederick W. Farrar, Charles H. Spurgeon, John Wesley, Lyman Abbott, the Bacons, Frank Talmage, Merle D'Aubigne, Swedenborg, Whately, Maurice, Dwight and hundreds of men less conspicuous, but no less useful.

8. Liberating Influence on Man's Mind.

Intellectual freedom has been set forth in previous chapters as a potent cause and a leading principle of the Reformation. Here our aim is to call attention to the results achieved in that tremendous struggle to liberate the mind of men. To begin with, it should be emphasized that more important than any single achievement along these lines was the general atmosphere favoring the individual's right to think and speak for himself, which the Reformation created. It is only too well known that the Reformers and their followers to this very day have often proved disloyal in their practice to the principles so vigorously defended by them. But this is due to the frailty of human nature of even the highest type. Their real and lasting achievement should be sought rather in the important fact that they sowed the right kind of seed. For, since it is in the nature of a living seed to germinate and develop fruit after its kind, we see in the garden of Protestant culture many a finely developed plant, the origin of which can be traced back directly to the teachings of the Reformers. To mention only a few specimens, these men anticipated by the space of three hundred years our modern laws of cumpulsory school attendance; their teaching clearly favors a gradual emancipation of secular educa-

tion, especially in the higher schools, from too strong a sectarian control, and the German-born demand for "Lehrfreiheit" (liberty of scientific research and teaching) is undoubtedly a fruit of Protestantism. For Treitschke, from his own experience at the University of Freiburg in Baden, truly says: "It is impossible to speak of academic liberty in an institution controlled by the Roman Church." It requires, therefore, little reflection to understand why intellectual liberty proves everywhere the death-knell of Rome's tyranny, while to Protestantism it is the very breath of life. Consequently, whenever designing men in Church or state succeeded in stopping the flow of the springs of liberty in Protestant countries, Christ's words became true: "Thou hast the name that thou livest (a truly Protestant life), but thou art dead (in your papal practice)."

A Physico-Psychical Reason.

Another and very profound reason for the fact that Protestant Christianity greatly excels Catholicism in the number and quality of men of strong intellect is stated by a writer on "Race Culture" as follows: "Protestantism on the whole has always protected and encouraged its men and women of strong convictions and clear minds, while it belongs to the very nature of papal intolerance to stifle and repress man's intellect, by means of persecutions which brought thousands of the foremost thinkers and men of political aptitudes to the scaffold, or imprisoned them during a large part of their manhood, or drove them as immigrants into other lands. In every one of these cases the check upon their leaving issue was very considerable. Hence the Catholic Church, having first captured all the gentle natures and condemned them to celibacy, made another sweep of her huge net, this time fishing in stirring waters, to catch those who were the most fearless, truth-seeking and intelligent in their modes of thought, and therefore the most suitable parents of a high civilization, and put a strong check, if not a direct stop, to their progeny. Those she reserved on these occasions to breed the generations of the future, were the servile, the in-

different and again the stupid. Thus, as she brutalized human nature by her system of celibacy applied to the gentle, she demoralized it by her system of persecution of the intelligent, the sincere and the free. It is enough to make the blood boil to think of the blind folly that has caused the foremost nations of struggling humanity to be the heroes of such hateful ancestry and that has so bred our instincts as to keep them in an unnecessarily long-continued antagonism with the essential requirements of a steadily advancing civilization."

Dr. Eliot's Tribute to Protestantism.

The assertions of this writer can easily be proved by the history of civilization. For example, in all countries in which the Reformation failed, France is the only one in which literature was not blighted. In England the Reformation was followed by the era of Spencer, of Bacon and of Shakespeare. Luther's translation of the Bible into modern German opens the period of the New High German in language and literature, and even German Catholic text-books feel obliged to recognize this division. In Holland and Scotland intellectual progress is most striking since the Reformation. Most of the great philosophers of modern times are Protestants: Bacon, Leibnitz, Kant, Fichte, Hegel, Spencer, Eucken. The ex-president of Harvard University in forceful language justly ascribes the origin of this intellectual freedom to the motherland of the Reformation. "No thinking," he says, "has been so wide, so deep, so unfettered, so free, as German thinking. Two great doctrines which had sprung from the German Protestant Reformation had been developed by Germans from seed then planted in Germany. The first was the doctrine of universal education, developed from the Protestant conception of individual responsibility, and the second was the great doctrine of civil liberty; liberty in industries, in society, in government, liberty with order, under law. This academic freedom meant to the Germans emancipation from tradition and prejudice as well as from authority, whether governmental or ecclesiastical. The Teutonic peoples set higher value on truth in speech, thought

and action than any other people. They love truth; they seek it; they woo it. America is more indebted to Germany than to any other nation because the range of German research has been wider and deeper than any other nation."

9. Home Rule of National Churches.

For obvious reasons papal imperialism has ever been greatly interested in discouraging true patriotism and the spirit of nationalism in the various "Church provinces" of the papal empire. Even perfectly harmless national designations, used merely for convenience, such as "The American Catholic Church," or "The German Catholic Church," are discouraged in Rome. It must always be "The *Roman* Catholic Church." To this day the general administration of the Catholic Church throughout the world proceeds from the Vatican at Rome. The pope appoints all the higher officials and decides all important questions. The highest court of appeal is located in Rome. Only the Pope may introduce reforms. As with all despotic governments, the least assertion of independence at once arouses Rome's suspicion, and ways and means are sought to suppress it. As such conditions made reform impossible, one of the first demands of the Reformers was the right of each territorial Church to administer its own affairs independent of Rome. England, Switzerland and a number of German states, acting on this principle, severed their connection with Rome and introduced the Reformation. This whole question came to an issue at the Diet of Speyer, in 1529, when the majority party in threatening resolutions denied this right to the states of the German empire. Against this declaration five princes and the representatives of fourteen free City Republics handed in the famous "Protest of Speyer," which culminated in the following declaration: "We hereby protest and testify openly before God and before all men that we consider null and void this entire transaction." This protest proved to be of the highest importance for the future progress of the Reformation, since it contained the indispensable foundation for the system of National Churches, independent of Rome. It also rejects

the claim of Rome to the absolute submission of all consciences to her authority, and asserts the right of a nation or a territorial Church to reform themselves. However, this principle worked out to an extent not expected. The princes and the councils of the Free Cities soon began to assume the same authority which the Pope had claimed over the individuals under their government. As Vedder says: "It substituted for the universal Catholic Pope a group of new Protestant popelets: Pope Martin in Germany, Pope Henry in England and Pope John in Geneva." While there is some truth in this, we should not be ungrateful, but always remember that progress takes one step at a time. Independence from Rome of each governmental unit in matters of religion was a great gain in the age-long conflict with intolerance, and it prepared the way for the next forward step, the struggle for the liberty of each individual within the state to worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience, without being bound by anybody else's conscience.

Meaning of the Name "Protestant."

The Protest of Speyer has justly given its designation to the whole reforming movement. Either from a misconception of the real meaning of the term, or with the purpose of discrediting the whole movement, it is sometimes asserted that the name is not at all descriptive of the essence of the Reformation, and that it implies a negative attitude of mind, indicating inability or fear to put forth positive truth. Such an interpretation of the term is inconsistent with its Latin derivation. Its original and proper meaning is positive: to declare publicity, to bear witness before the world; to give a solemn declaration of opinion, resolution, or faith. As such bearing of positive testimony to the truth also implies testimony against all errors which have obscured it, the word has unfortunately come in current use to be restricted to its implied second meaning. But this is no reason for discrediting the honorable name of "Protestant," which has become the common family name embracing all opponents of Romanism. It is a sharp, decisive, pointed designation of the real

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character of our position. We protest, that is, we testify, for the gospel and against error.

10. Freedom of Conscience.

Another inestimable blessing of the Reformation was the demand for the liberty of each individual to serve God according to the dictates of his own conscience. This right was asserted by all the Reformers, although it was practiced by only a few. As stated before, the liberty of conscience which the Protest of Speyer achieved was merely the right of each state of the German empire to establish and maintain whatever religious system it pleased, to compel the adoption of this by all its subjects or citizens and to persecute all those who claimed the right that the princes asserted themselves. All the Reformers upheld the Roman principle that "heresy," by which they meant deviation from the creed adopted by the State Church, should be suppressed by the civil power. Only the Anabaptists insisted on religious liberty of the individual. But it must be remembered that they were dissenters and formed a small minority, Hence, though we respect these sturdy apostles of a larger liberty very highly, we doubt whether they would have stood unflinchingly by these principles had their religion been established anywhere by law. For human nature differs very little in a given period, and the old Adam with its "tiger-nature" is a born Jesuit, always acting on the principle, "the end justifies the means." Hence history presents to friend and foe the deplorable spectacle that each Reformer, while loudly demanding freedom of conscience for his own Church, was unwilling to grant the same right to those whose theology differed from his. Calvin consented, to say the least, to the burning of Servetus. The Anabaptist leader Hubmaier was imprisoned and tortured at Zurich, with the connivance of Zwingli. In 1601 the Lutherans of Saxony executed Chancellor Crell, at Dresden, on the charge of being a secret Calvinist. In England streams of blood were shed by Protestants in punishing heretics. The Pilgrim Fathers fled from England to escape this tyranny; but hardly had they settled in Masachusetts to

serve God according to the dictates of their conscience, which was a Congregationalist conscience, when in 1631 they banished Roger Williams, because he had a Baptist conscience, for which there was no room in Massachusetts. The same Puritans hanged four Quakers in Boston and executed nineteen witches in Salem, Mass. Only two American colonies granted religious liberty in the modern sense of the word: Rhode Island, controlled by the Baptists, and Pennsylvania, under the influence of the Quakers and the Germans.

Luther Far in Advance.

Luther was the most advanced among the Reformers in his ideas of toleration. He has left some of the noblest utterances against coercion in matters of conscience. "Belief," he writes, "is a free thing which cannot be enforced." He opposed the Anabaptists, but added: "It is not right that such people should be so miserably murdered, burned and cruelly put to death; every one should be allowed to believe what he pleases. I have little love for condemnations to death. Look at the Jews and the papists. The Mosaic law commanded that *false* prophets should be slain, and they ended by killing almost none but blameless and holy prophets. Heresy is a spiritual thing, which cannot be hewn with any axe, or burned with any fire, or drowned with any water. Over the souls of men God can and will have no one rule save Himself alone. We should overcome heretics with books, not with fire. If there were any skill in overcoming heretics with fire, the executioner would be the most learned doctor in the world." In his "Babylonian Captivity" he writes: "I cry aloud on behalf of liberty of conscience." And this was also his practical attitude. He implores his prince "not to imbrue his hands in the blood of those new prophets of Zwickau." That Luther held these modern views from the first of his career, is proved by the fact that in the papal Bull of Excommunication, hurled against the Reformer, one of the crimes charged against him was the teaching that "to burn heretics is against the will of God." But even he, in spite of these lofty ideas on toleration, approved of silencing or

banishing those teachers whom the ruling theology of a land considered false.

Contrast Between Theory and Practice.

This glaring contradiction between lofty theories and repellant practice should prompt no one who knows human nature to pass harsh judgment upon the Reformers. For there is hardly another tree in the garden of human progress which is of such slow growth as the one labelled "Civil and Religious Liberty." It is still almost unknown among the majority of men, and even the progressive nations of Europe and America are far from reaping all of its precious fruits. While dungeons are out of the question in America, other kinds of suffering are often visited upon the man dissenting in the least in his religious, social and political views from the majority. Yet, here, as in other points, let us not be ungrateful to the Reformers. They have planted the tree of religious liberty and have also nursed it as much as they knew how. It is now for us to continue their good work and promote larger liberty in Church, society and state.

11. Civil and Political Liberty.

Protestantism being born out of religious revolt makes also for political liberty. The Netherlands became free, and are really the cradle of civil liberty in the modern and true sense of the word. England rose out of intolerable despotism, finding it necessary to behead one of her kings in her desperate struggle for civil and religious liberty. The rise of Prussia is due to the Protestant spirit which controlled her rulers, and the origin and independence of the United States are directly traceable to the principles of the Reformation. The reasons for these results are stated by James Bryce as follows: "The Reformation became a revolt against the principle of authority in all its forms; it erected the standard of civil as well as religious liberty, since both of them are needed in a different measure for the development of individual liberty. The German empire had never been conspicuously antagonistic to popular freedom, and

was, even under Charles V., far less formidable to the commonalty than were the territorial princes of the different federal states which composed the German empire. But submission to Catholic ideas of government was the watchword. Hence the indirect tendency of the Reformation to narrow the problems of government and exalt the privileges of the citizen was as plainly adverse to what one may call the imperial idea as the Protestant claim of the right of private judgment was to the pretensions of the papacy and the priesthood. It is true, much less than might have been expected did the Reformation at first actually effect in the way of promoting either political progress or freedom of conscience. But the seed was planted."

Difference Among the Reformers.

The Reformers differed greatly in their views on the desirability of political liberty, as well as on the methods of securing it. True to their general principles, the Anabaptists sought a true democracy, through a revival of the social gospel proclaimed by Jesus and realized for a time in the primitive Church. But when the leaders of the revolt of the nobles, Sickingen and Hutten, tried to interest Luther in their cause, he refused; first, because he saw plainly that these knightly supporters of the Reformation had no deep interest in the religious side of the movement, which to him was all in all; secondly, because he was constitutionally opposed to violent methods of advancing the interests of religion. As early as 1521 Luther wrote from the Wartburg an admonition against the radicals, in which he says: "I hold, and ever will hold, to the party which suffers violence, no matter how wrong it may be; and will oppose the party that causes tumult, however righteous its cause, and this because no tumult will subside without the shedding of innocent blood and other harm." Zwingli, Calvin and Knox showed much more interest in securing to the people a larger measure of political liberty, and it was in the countries where Calvinism ruled that the doctrine of the divine right of revolution was first defended and developed.

Popular Freedom and Roman Catholicism.

History notes a few exceptions to this rule. Occasionally Protestants have favored despotism and Roman Catholics have been known to advocate the sovereignty of the people; but this does not change the innermost nature and tendency of the two systems. To this day, wherever Catholic statesmen have favored free government they have been opposed by the Roman Catholic hierarchy, and wherever Catholic laymen have succeeded in establishing free institutions they have done so in spite of their religious superiors. And moreover, wherever free institutions, already established, have been attacked, openly or secretly, as e. g. in Mexico and other South American Republics, one will always find the hierarchy at the bottom of the difficulty.

12. The Reformation Favors Social Progress.

Directly and even more indirectly, the Reformation has promoted social and economic progress. That Zwingli and Calvin were greatly interested in social reform is so generally conceded that nothing need be said to confirm it. But it has become almost a tradition to assert that Luther had little interest in, and less aptitude for, social work. How anyone can assert this, even though he has read nothing more than his "Appeal to the Nobles," I cannot understand. This seems to be another case of one writer copying from the other without going to the trouble of consulting the sources. His "Appeal" is in fact little more than a program of reform on a large scale and an attack upon the forces hindering it. Amazement has often been expressed that a monk should possess so extensive a knowledge of men and things. But it should be remembered that Luther had long been a public man in touch with all the movements of the day. In his program he proposes a long list of reforms, wants to put a bridle on the Fuggers, the great money-lenders of that day, and warns the Germans against the growing custom of mortgaging their property. In 1539 he requests his Prince to fix lower prices for food by law. In 1524 he published a book on Trade and Usury, in which he denounces monopoly, trusts, corners and the like, in language which sounds very familiar today. The remedy, he says, lies in the hands of the government. In his address to the leaders

of the Peasant War he goes so far as to say: "Though the gospel does not aim at a community of goods, yet such as desire this may have it like the apostles (Acts 4 : 32)" When in 1525 the peasants presented their grievances, Luther expressed his warmest sympathy and supported their cause. Only when they committed unspeakable atrocities he turned against them. One reason for the failure of the cause of the peasants was the lack of able leadership. True to her instinct, the ruling Church took the side of the governing class. That the noble cause of the peasants fell into wrong hands is therefore more the fault of the Church than of the poor peasants. But the deepest reason why the demands of the peasant rebels could not be fulfilled was because they went beyond the possibility of their times, even of our own times; they went beyond democracy and demanded communism and socialism. It was an attempt to break too sharply with the past, forgetting that human progress is slow and to throw off intolerable burdens with a single sudden stroke never succeeds. But true as this is, some good might have come to those oppressed people from the movement if the Church had not taken the side of the ruling classes, encouraging the nobles as Luther did in most intemperate language, "to smite, stab, destroy them." To this day the leaders in the work of the social uplift have not forgiven him for deserting the cause of the oppressed.

Difference Between Two Civilizations.

In consequence of these benefits of the Reformation, the contrast between Catholic and Protestant civilization is evident wherever one goes. Macaulay, in his History of England, writes: "The loveliest and most fertile provinces of Europe have under the rule of Romanism been sunk in poverty, in political servitude, and in intellectual torpor, while Protestant countries once proverbial for sterility and barbarism, have been turned by skill and industry into gardens, and can boast of a long list of heroes and statesmen, philosophers and poets. The decline of Spain, once the first among monarchies, to the lowest depths of degradation; the elevation of Holland in spite of many national disadvantages to a position such as no commonwealth so small has ever reached, teach the same lesson. Whoever passes in Germany from a Roman Catholic to a Prot-

estant principality, in Switzerland from a Roman Catholic to a Protestant canton, in Ireland from a Roman Catholic to a Protestant county, finds that he has passed from a lower to a higher grade of civilization. The Protestants of the United States have left far behind them the Roman Catholics of Mexico, Peru and Brazil. The Roman Catholics of lower Canada remain inert, while the whole continent round them is in a ferment with Protestant activity and enterprise." Carlyle in his "History of Frederick II" in his quaint style explains the reason as follows: "Protestantism purifies national life. Once risen into this divine white heat of temper, an immense amount of dross and poisonous matter will be burned out of it in the high temperature of Protestantism. France was within a hair's breadth of becoming actually Protestant; but France saw fit to massacre Protestantism, and in 1792 came a Protestantism of another kind, in the French Revolution." Schmollez, one of the greatest German authorities on political and social economy, goes so far as to claim that without Luther's work the steam engine and the resulting change in the economic life of the world would have been impossible.

13. Protestantism as a Force.

In a fair valuation of the civilizing influence of the Reformation the distinction between Protestantism as a dynamic force and as an organization must be steadily kept in mind. While the Protestant Churches as organizations have never been very far behind Romanism in opposing forward movements, it can easily be shown that almost all such movements were inspired and led by Protestants in their individual capacity or as members of organizations outside of the Churches. Hence while it is true that most forward movements have always been carried on independently of the Protestant Churches, they cannot for that reason be set to the credit of forces outside of Protestantism. This cultural activity of the Protestant spirit is carried on in our day with such consuming energy that even an authority as liberal and able as Professor Troelsch sounds a warning against an ever growing danger that the very children born of the Protestant spirit, such as political, religious, intellectual and economic liberty, may finally crush out the life of their own mother, unless Protestantism should assert itself as a re-

ligious force against both extremes, destructive radicalism and putrifying conservatism. Through its strong liberating influence Protestantism gave birth and secured ample breathing space to modern civilization, and now it is engaged in a tremendous struggle to control the very civilization which it helped to create.

Influence on Catholicism.

The Roman priesthood may never concede it, yet it is nevertheless a fact of history and experience that the Reformation has also benefitted Catholicism very considerably. The Church against which the Reformers protested is not the Roman Church of our own day. It has been in many ways reformed; it has felt the power of Protestantism working incessantly, and has been improved by the spirit of the age in spite of itself, especially in predominantly Teutonic nations, where the spirit of Protestantism penetrates government, education, the press and other public affairs. Burckhard, in his "History of the Italian Renaissance," declares with no little probability that the papacy itself was saved by the Reformation, by stirring up the hierarchy to reform abuses. For one of the chief reasons for convening the famous Council of Trent, in 1546, was to consider plans "for the reformation of the clergy and people."

14. The Greatest Blessing.

We might continue in this strain and lengthen the list of individual blessings derived from the Reformation. But we will close with a quotation from Dr. Vedder, in which he stresses as the greatest of all gifts the liberating spirit which the Reformation poured out over the world. He says: "The Reformation is important to us today not so much for what it immediately accomplished, as for what it made possible. The new ideals that it offered have ever since ruled the world. It introduced into Europe a new spirit, and though the leaders became frightened at their own audacity and did their best to undo some of their most important work, happily they did not succeed. Like Pandora, they had released something that could not again be confined. The new spirit survived their futile attempts to cripple and imprison it, and is the spirit of the modern world. That spirit is that nothing be accepted as

truth merely because it is old; that nothing is to be accepted on authority, save the authority of the truth itself; that everything is subject to inquiry, and only that which bears every test of reason and experience can make good its claim to be truth.'' Luther's prophetic and poetic mind has uttered sweeping opinions in favor of freedom of conscience, liberty of private judgment, the sole authority of the Scriptures and the priesthood of all believers—opinions that contained logical implications of which he was at the time unconscious, and that he rejected as soon as others more logical than he attempted to realize them.

15. Does the World Grow Better?

The foregoing comparison of conditions before the Reformation with modern times demands a decidedly affirmative answer to the oft-repeated question: ''Does the world grow better?'' And Protestantism may claim a large share in this process of improvement. We think the steady development for right and truth and justice in the world may be accepted as a fact, rather than admitted as a probability. But what of the present gigantic World War? It is certainly wrong. War is a product of race expansion and race ambitions, as well as the method of conquest and oppression; but God overrules the wrong by bringing the nations closer together in a lasting peace, an enduring economic relation founded on justice, right and fair dealing. As pertinent to the issue, look, first, to the development of religion in the so-called civilized nations. Would anyone seek favorably to compare the age which burned Savanarola with the present age? Would Joan of Arc have been martyred in this age? Or Servetus? Would the Pilgrim Fathers have rejoiced over, or have decried, the tolerance proclaimed in our organic law? Take the law—who would like to affirm that the legal procedure of the day of Jeffreys was better than the present? The law killed Robert Emmet. The law killed Nathan Hale. Widows and orphans have been despoiled by the law. But, today, actual justice, and not the letter of the law, is what judges are concerned in. We have tremendously outgrown much of harshness, cruelty and injustice which formerly masked behind legal enactments. Take education—who would dare say that education has not made the world better and better through every day of passing time?

Education, knowledge—the sheet-anchor of civilization. Education has lifted woman from chattel serfdom to the most glorious estate she has enjoyed since the creation.

Commended Reading.

1. Vollmer, Philip, Calvin on Liberty and Morality, on pp. 159–167 in "John Calvin."
2. Schaff, Ph., Church History VI, 50–86, on "Protestantism and Religious Liberty."
3. Fisher, "Relation of Protestantism to Culture," in "The Reformation," Chap. XV.
4. Fisher, "The Relation of Protestantism and Romanism to Modern Civilization," p. 161, in "Discourses in History and Theology."
5. Troelsch, "Protestantism and Progress."
6. Sulaby, Caleb W., "Parenthood and Race Culture," p. 132.
7. Galton, Francis, Hereditary Genius.

CHAPTER VI.

The Continuation of the Reformation.

In the light of history, the Reformation of the sixteenth century was not the beginning of the reforming activity within the Church, nor were those thrilling achievements of Luther, Zwingli, Calvin, Knox and others its end. This great movement was not a finality, not a closed incident, not a finished product, not merely a series of events occurring at a definite time and in certain countries. The Reformation idea should rather be considered as a principle of action, a force, a leaven, a live root, which has by no means exhausted its possibilities in any one period. Those remarkable men laid down principles of such magnitude, depth and far-reaching consequences that they themselves did not in all cases recognize the wide scope of the controversies in which they were engaged. This explains why, from the beginning to this very day, Protestantism has vehemently refused to acknowledge many a robust and lovely child, born legitimately of avowed Reformation principles. In other cases where the Reformers and the leaders of the Protestant forces were most anxious to actualize their ideas, they were and still are compelled, for all kinds of reasons, worthy and objectionable, to submit to serious compromises. For these and other reasons the Reformation is not completed; the dynamic force which gave birth to the movement in the sixteenth century must constantly be kept in operation. For one reformation always carries in it the seed of another. If it was a praiseworthy thing for the Reformers of the sixteenth century to examine the interpretation put by the papal Church upon the Bible, it is equally admissable for us to re-examine the teaching of the Reformers and develop it along lines in stricter accordance with the teaching of the New Testament. Many a precious fruit has since the Reformation matured on the tree of Protestantism and in causal connection with its principles, though it was at first discredited by some of its leaders. We will point to a few of them.

1. Pietism in Germany.

Pietism is the name for a very successful movement on behalf of a more spiritual and practical type of religion within the German Protestant Church of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. At the close of the Thirty Years' War (1618-1648) the religious life in Protestant Germany was at a low ebb. The prevalence of Protestant scholasticism, the interpretation of saving faith as intellectual assent to creeds, the unfruitful, hair-splitting theological controversies, as well as the indescribable sufferings of that awful war, tended to depress the religious and moral life among high and low. Serious-minded men felt that the Reformation had not completed its work, that the purification of doctrine needed to be followed by a renovation of life.

The great leader of the Pietist movement was Philip Jacob Spener (1633-1705), a distinguished Lutheran pastor, serving successfully prominent churches in Frankfurt a. M., Dresden and Berlin. He was a man of mystical, but practical temperament, and was greatly influenced by the well-known German mystic, Johann Arndt, whose book, "True Christianity," is to this day one of the best known devotional manuals in Germany. Spener undertook to raise the low religious and moral tone among the people by laying emphasis in his preaching upon life, rather than upon doctrine, by visiting the people of his parish and especially by holding meetings in his house for Bible study and prayer, called "Collegia Pietatis." These Ecclesiolæ in Ecclesia (the little churches within the state Church) insisted on true regeneration and the transformation of character through vital union with Christ. Asceticism was favored over against the common worldliness of the average Christian. Spener's book, "Pia Desideria" (Pious Wishes), proved of far-reaching influence in the direction intended. In it he insists on more general realization of the Reformation doctrine of the universal priesthood of all believers, and deplores the evils of theological controversy, which had driven out of the Lutheran as well as the Reformed churches the true spirit of Christ and its fruits, love and

peace. A theology founded on heart piety, nourished by prayer, meditation and spiritual illumination was for him the only true theology. Spener's efforts found many supporters, especially among the laity. One of the most prominent men was August Hermann Francke, professor at Halle and founder of a large number of educational and philanthropic institutions. From the time of Spener to the present day, Pietism has been one of the dominant forces in German religious life. What to-day is so well known in the Fatherland as the "Gemeinschafts-Bewegung" is a lineal descendant of the work of Arndt, Spener and Francke. Of their extensive work for foreign missions and in the various departments of Inner Missions or Social Service we cannot speak here in detail. The German Pietists remain members of the state churches.

2. The Rise of Methodism.

Methodism is another genuine continuation and development of Reformation principles, and is, moreover, through Wesley's conversion, directly connected with Luther's writings. The occasion of the movement was due to the deplorable condition of church life in England. In Germany it was dead orthodoxy, while in England it was Unitarian Deism which was gnawing at the vitals of Protestant religion. The leader in the advance movement in England toward a more spiritual and practical type of Protestantism was John Wesley. The change in his life was determined by his contact with a small group of German Pietistic Moravians in London. Of his remarkable experience at one of their meetings, in 1738, he gives a detailed and vivid account in his Journal in the following words: "In the evening I went very unwillingly to a Society in Aldusgate street, where some one was reading Luther's preface to the Epistle to the Romans. About a quarter before nine, while he was describing the change which God works in the heart through faith in Christ, I felt my heart strangely warmed. I felt I did trust in Christ, Christ alone for salvation, and assurance was given me that He had taken my sins, even mine, and saved me from the law of sin and death."

(Works I. 194.) This event was epochal in Wesley's life. It meant a return from ritual and institutional religion to the genuine, but practically forgotten Reformation platform of a present salvation. This was the birth of Methodism and its world-wide evangelism. In his conception of salvation Wesley always stood nearer to Luther than to other Reformers. His definition of salvation is classical: "By salvation I mean not only, according to the vulgar notion, deliverance from hell or going to heaven, but a present deliverance from sin, a restoration of the soul to its primitive health." In thus emphasizing that salvation is a present possession, Wesley simply drew the logical inference from the Reformers' doctrine of justification by faith. "By a Christian," Wesley later writes, "I mean one who so believes in Christ as that sin has no more dominion over him." Methodism has proved a great blessing to the world. Their number has reached over 32 million adherents.

3. The Great Awakening in America.

Corresponding to the movements in Germany and England having for their object the continuation of the Reformation in the direction of deepening the spiritual life was in America what is known as "The Great Awakening." In the eighteenth century religious indifference, born of English deism, French infidelity and German rationalism, reigned supreme in America. The most prominent American leaders and statesmen (Thomas Jefferson, John Adams and others) were denying the Deity of Christ. Only one in twelve of the population was a member of the Church, while to-day the proportion is one in three or four. The leader in this great awakening was Jonathan Edwards, a profound Calvinistic theologian and a preacher of great magnetism. We cannot go into details. Suffice it to say that showers of blessing flowed from this reaffirmation and deepening of Protestant principles. While Methodism laid greatest stress on God's love, J.Edwards made the judgment and the wrath of God prominent. Thousands were converted as a result of his still famous sermon on the subject, "Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God."

4. America's Special Contribution.

The most important and peculiar contribution, however, which the United States has made toward the realization of Reformation principles consists in emphasizing the Protestant principle of liberty of conscience by insisting on the absolute and legal separation between Church and state. In the books on Church History this fact is almost universally overlooked, though it is of the greatest importance and has had far-reaching consequences. For in so doing the United States furnishes the first example in history of a government deliberately and voluntarily depriving itself of all legislative control over religion. The first amendment to the constitution of the United States is therefore of world-historical importance. It provides: "Congress shall make no laws establishing a religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof."

Far-reaching Consequences.

No wonder that when, in 1791, this amendment was reported to have been adopted by the requisite number of states, Jefferson wrote: "I contemplate with reverence this act of the whole American people." Judge Cooley writes of it: "It is not mere religious tolerance which this amendment establishes in our system of government, but full religious liberty." A true estimate is put upon this law by Dudley Field, when he writes: "If we had nothing else to boast of, we could claim with justice that, first among the nations, we made it an article of organic law that the relation between man and his Maker was a private concern into which other men had no right to intrude." "This," adds Chief Justice Andrews, "is a distinct and peculiar contribution by America to the science of government." Dr. Philip Schaff says to the same effect: "The relationship of Church and state in America marks an epoch. It is a new chapter in the history of Christianity, and the most important one which America has so far contributed." It is true that this amendment to the constitution of the United States does not prohibit the individual states of the Union from establishing a state Church. In Massachusetts and other states one

or the other denomination did at first enjoy special privileges; but very soon all the states incorporated the substance of this federal law in their own organic law, most of them in even more rigorous words. In obedience to this amendment, "religious tests" were abolished in Art. 6 of the United States Constitution. All this shows that the good seed sown by Roger Williams, whom the Puritans drove from Massachusetts to Rhode Island because he was a Baptist, developed into the sweet fruit-bearing tree of true religious liberty in America. This refugee should be honored as one of the first persons of prominence in America to assert the doctrine of full liberty of conscience. This spirit has been one of the main sources of American prosperity. For by it millions of the most sturdy men, who in Europe were persecuted for conscience's sake, were drawn to the shores of the United States.

5. Union of Lutherans and Reformed in Germany.

Another step in the continuation of the Reformation was the effort to reunite the forces of Protestantism in Germany, where the separation had first begun. The hand of fellowship which Luther had refused, when stretched out by Zwingli at Marburg, in 1529, was heartily clasped by millions of his followers when again offered by a member of the Reformed Church, King William III. of Prussia, on the occasion of the Three Hundredth Anniversary of the Reformation, in 1817. In the states of the Palatinate, Baden and Hesse-Darmstadt, this Lutheran-Reformed union was of an absorptive character, dropping even the old denominational names, in exchange for the generic titles, "Evangelical or Protestant," while in Prussia it rests on the federal principle, having the general Church government in common, but permitting each local congregation to choose between the creeds, catechisms and names of the old denominations, or adopt a union catechism and the neutral titles "Evangelical" or "Protestant." In all other parts of Germany the two Churches are still separate. From these facts it appears that it is misleading to classify all Protestants in Germany as "Lutherans," for in truth the majority of them are official-

ly known as either "Evangelical" or "Protestant." The worthy daughter of this United Evangelical Church in Germany is "The German Evangelical Synod of North America," which reports 274,787 communicants.

6. Modern Continuations of the Reformation.

The elevating process of the leaven of the Reformation has never been felt more strongly than at present. Vital problems of a religious, theological, social and political character press strongly for solution upon the modern man throughout the civilized world. It is especially the loud demand for social justice, the strong protest against political wrongs and the self-assertive cry for larger religious and intellectual freedom which prove conclusively that Protestantism is neither dead nor dying, but is continuing the blessed work inaugurated by the old Reformers and their followers. Organized Protestantism, it is unfortunately true, proves to be in many cases as unresponsive to these cries as is Romanism; but it is a plain fact of history, statistics and observation that, in spite of the reactionary attitude of many Churches in their organized capacity, nine-tenths of all real progress must be credited to Protestant individuals and to the general progressive atmosphere generated by the principles of the Reformation. This continuation of the Reformation, as it manifests itself in America, will be discussed in some detail in the second part of this book.

7. Modernism in the Roman Catholic Church.

The leavening process of the Reformation extends also to Roman Catholics; for it is impossible that they should remain entirely unaffected by the Protestant atmosphere in which they live and move and have their being. The name for the more recent reform movement within the pale of the Roman Church is "Modernism." In the United States the papal partisans call it "Americanism." It was an Italian newspaper which first coined the term "Modernism," and the pope, by using it in the documents condemning the movement, gave it his sanction. One of the foremost leaders of Modernism, however, considers this designation a mis-

nomer, because, as he truly says, every historical development in the Catholic Church was in its time a "modern" movement, even scholasticism itself, into which the pope would compel his theologians to retreat. "We define our religious attitude," he says, "simply as Catholics, endeavoring to adapt our Church to the thought and life of the modern world." From this it appears that Modernism has no common platform, in the sense of a definite body of doctrine; it is rather an attitude of mind, a definite tendency of a vitalizing spirit, a leaven. This explains why its exponents are by no means agreed on all things. As among the Humanists of the Reformation period, this movement assumes radical and often anti-moral aspects in the Latin countries, while among the Teutonic nations it is more serious and spiritual.

Principles of Modernism.

All Modernists agree in insisting that scientific methods must be applied to the study of the Bible, Church History, the creeds and tradition. They all apply the principle of historical development to the institutions and dogmas of the Church. As with the Protestant Reformers, religion is with them an indwelling energy and a spiritual experience, rather than an intellectual assent to a body of doctrine. Hence, as in the case of the Reformers, the real issue between Modernism and the papal system centers in the question of ultimate authority in religion. For example, the leader of Modernism in Great Britain, Father Tyrell, insists that Christ and not the Church is the final authority. "Any interpretation of papal infallibility which finds the organ of Catholic truth in the miraculously guided brain of one man; which renders futile the collective experience and reflection of the whole Church, destroys the very essence of Catholicism in favor of a military dictatorship, and this would be the apotheosis of individualism. As it is the business of a judge, not to make, but to interpret the law, so it is the office of bishops, councils and popes to interpret the Church's collective mind." Every lover of truth

is delighted to hear Father Tyrell express such precious words, but he was probably not surprised to learn that the pope had no use for him, for his principles are full-fledged Protestantism. Other reforms demanded by the Modernists are as follows: A constitutional form of Church government by increasing the number of non-Italian cardinals; restoring Episcopal autonomy and the participation of the laity in the government of the Church; publicity of trials; reforms in the education of priests; greater liberty of scientific research; modification of enforced celibacy; spiritualizing of religious ceremonies.

Papal Condemnation of Modernism.

No one who knows Rome was in the least surprised when the pope, at his first opportunity, hurled his choicest condemnations against a movement which dared to propose even the slightest opening of the windows in the old Roman dungeon to let in a little bit of fresh air and the light of truth. On July 2, 1907, the pope issued a "Syllabus," in which he condemned sixty-five opinions of Modernism, and a short time afterward he sent out an "Encyclical" against the movement. In these documents he defined the system "as the sap and substance of all errors." "They are the most pernicious of all our adversaries, because they work from within the Church. They ascribe to a love of truth that which is really the result of pride and obstinacy. To forsake the safe syllogisms of Catholic scholasticism is to hasten toward atheism. Let us note the appearance of that pernicious doctrine, which would make the laity a factor in the progress of the Church." The Encyclical contains also a special thrust against the United States in denying "the principle of the Americans that the active virtues are more important than the passive." As one of the chief remedies of the disease, the pope commands that at stated periods all priests and professors must renew their oath of allegiance to him and to the teachings newly formulated by him. This is known as the "Anti-Modernist Oath." The governments of Germany and other European countries for-

bade the Catholic professors at the higher state institutions of learning to take this humiliating oath. In Austria, where some of the professors complied with this papal demand, their Protestant colleagues refused to recognize as their peers men who would publicly forswear their right of unfettered scientific research, which is considered the greatest scientific crime in a German University. The resentment on the part of the educated Catholic laity in Germany against this piece of mediævalism became so outspoken that the bishops deemed it advisable to issue reassuring explanations. However, all this opposition did not deter the pope from going a step further by visiting discipline on a number of the foremost Modernists. Father Tyrell was suspended; Abbe Loisy and Professor Schnell were forced to retract, and Senator Fogazzaro's famous novel, "The Saint," has been placed on the list of "Forbidden Books." Yet movements of this character cannot be entirely suppressed, though they may be retarded. "Truth crushed to earth will rise again. The eternal years of God are hers."

8. What of the Near Future?

Judging from the past and the present one can easily determine the lines along which the spirit of Protestantism will be likely to continue the work of the Reformation in the near future. To begin with, a new Protestantism is in the making. While we cannot fully agree with Troelsch (in his "Kultur der Gegenwart") that the real Reformation began in the eighteenth century with the period of "enlightenment, which developed a new world-view and presented to the world an ideal of culture higher than that of the old Reformers," yet no careful observer can doubt that large groups of the intelligent elements in the Church of to-day demand with great persistence a restatement of the old faith in terms better understood by our age. The presentation of the gospel in the future must be more Christocentric. The plan of salvation, as taught by Jesus in the parable of the Prodigal Son, and in John 3: 16, must supersede scholastic disquisitions. This will naturally lead to

a stronger emphasis on social salvation. Modern men will demand an unabridged, unmutilated gospel. A combination of theological orthodoxy and moral crookedness in Church members of good and regular standing will not be as easily tolerated in the Church of the future as it is to-day. The ethical type of piety will be as strongly emphasized as it was by Christ and Paul, in contrast to the emotional, the ceremonial and the ascetic type. The lay members will come more to the front in the Church, not to boss the job, but rather to engage to a much larger extent in real service. The bane of the Church has always been too much "officialism." The new Protestantism will draw with severer logic all the legitimate inferences from the principle of the common priesthood of all believers. And whenever more intelligent and consecrated laymen shall be in the saddle, Church union at home and abroad will come perceptibly nearer. And the sacred cause of missions will be promoted with more enthusiasm and business sense.

9. A Reunion of Catholics and Protestants.

To many observant students of the philosophy of history, watching the mysterious workings of the divine and human forces in the history of human progress, it appears morally certain that sometime in the distant future the chasm yawning between Protestantism and Catholicism will be bridged over. The Hegelian formula that all historical development must pass through the three stages of thesis, antithesis and synthesis, seems to rest on careful observation. According to this theory, Christianity, having passed the first stage, has entered the second at the Reformation and is even now tending slowly toward the third, the reunion. This end, however, will not be reached by any pope haughtily inviting "the erring brethren to return," for the gradual elimination of the papal power from the rule of the Catholic Church will itself be the first successful step in such a reunion. Nor will reunion come about by any Protestant propaganda, for the "race psychologists" question very seriously whether Protestantism in its present form will ever be accepted by

large numbers of non-Teutonic nations. The reuniting of "the separated brethren" will be brought about, like all other great movements in history, by a very slow process of development, extending over many centuries. In fact, the movement has already begun. The pope is losing power over his Church, inch by inch, and in a few generations he will be what he was during the first five centuries, a local bishop of the diocese of Rome. This will remove the chief source of corruption and the greatest obstacle to reunion. For it is not so much Catholicism, in the sense of a system of peculiar doctrines and a definite mode of worship which effectively bars reunion, but rather Romanism, that is, the system of spiritual, intellectual and political tyranny emanating from papal imperialism in Rome. The liberating spirit animating a pope-free Church will open the way to the Bible, the source of truth, and the rest follows in due time. Such national Catholic Churches, independent of Rome-rule, will then be subject to all the influences of the spirit of co-operation and union among Christians, which is destined to increase as the generations roll on. Eliminate, for example, papal imperialism from the Catholic Church in America and what remains is nothing more dangerous than another American denomination with a peculiar church life, most features of which being not nearly as repulsive as those of some Protestant sects. Careful observers may even now discern slight curves towards each other in the parallel roads which Catholics and Protestants are traveling. In many of their sentiments, doctrines, principles and even in practical co-operation, Protestants and Catholics are already much nearer to one another than some Protestant denominations. Only allow sufficient time, which is a principal requisite in all historical developments of such a nature, and the mutual curves will finally meet, making the arch perfect. Professor Harnack, a few years ago, in one of his sensational lectures, said: "Are we obliged to regard the present separation as settled and acquiesce in it? A nearer approach of the Churches is considered by most of us as a Utopia, yea, almost as a betrayal of one's own faith. Though

only a slim hope of improvement is visible, it would be conscienceless to thrust it aside. And if one should object that at this time no one can imagine under what forms Catholics and Protestants can ever be drawn near one another, it must be remembered that three hundred years ago no one could have conceived beforehand how Lutherans and Reformed in Germany could be fused together, for their contention was more bitter than that between Protestants and Catholics to-day." It is a species of unbelief to doubt Christ's words, that sometime there will be one fold and one shepherd. The basis of union will be a compromise, not of essential truths, but brought about by eliminating inherited theological and national prejudices and unessential elements on both sides. It will be a Church federation on the basis of the ancient motto: "In fundamentals unity; in non-essentials liberty; in everything love."

10. Professor Rothe's Grand Conception.

Richard Rothe, formerly professor in the University at Heidelberg, Germany, in his famous book on "Christian Ethics" has gone one step further in forecasting future conditions, predicting a complete union of Church and state into one organization of the nature of a theocratic commonwealth. In his opinion this would be a revival of the Old Testament theocracy, but on a thoroughly spiritual basis; it would also answer to the predicted "New Covenant," of Jeremiah 31. It would constitute the kingdom of God, proclaimed by Jesus, the "holy nation," meant in 1 Peter 2: 9, the "new Jerusalem" coming down from heaven, which Rev. 21 describes; in short, a unifying of all the moral forces residing in Church and state to such an absolute extent that thenceforth there would be only one organization for the uplift of mankind. Christ's ideal of the kingdom of God, as well as sound philosophy and careful observation of slow beginnings in the past and present, have convinced other thinkers that Rothe's conception is not an unrealizable ideal. Here again time, much time, is necessary for the actualization, for precious plants are of slow growth in the stormy and icy atmosphere of this sinful world.

Commended Reading.

1. Pietism. Articles in most Encyclopedias, especially in Schaff-Herzog "Religious Encyclopedia," Vol. IX, p. 53.

2. Overston. "The Evangelical Revival in the Eighteenth Century" (on John Wesley).

3. Rust, John B., "Modernism and the Reformation."

4. Smyth. "Passing Protestantism and Coming Catholicism." Chap. 2 contains an instructive discussion on "Modernism."

5. On Efforts at Church Union, see Fisher, "The Reformation," page 405.

6. "Evangelical Fundamentals," Parts I and II. Eden Publishing House, St. Louis, Mo.

7. "Essentials of Methodism," by Bishop Francis J. McConnell.

8. "A Modern Revolt from Rome," by John Berkeley.

9. Every book on Church History contains some information on the subjects treated in this chapter.

PART II.

The Message of the Protestant Reformation to Modern America.

CHAPTER VII.

The Protestant Character of American Civilization.

"Now these things happened unto them by way of example and they were written for our admonition," writes Paul in 1 Cor. 10: 11. These words apply to the Reformation. The definite message which the Reformation-idea, as explained in the first part of this book, conveys to modern America may be tersely expressed in the admonition of our Lord to His Church: "Hold fast that which thou hast, that no one take thy crown" (Rev. 3: 11). O Columbia, thou gem of the ocean, Protestantism gave thee birth; Protestant principles underlie thy national life; thou boastest justly of a large measure of religious liberty; thou hast made a creditable beginning of genuine democracy; millions of thy best children abhor war as Jesus abhorred it; a strong passion for social righteousness is on the increase among all classes of thy people! Now hold fast these great treasures and develop them! Valuable possessions have their enemies; great treasures are exposed to thieves. Therefore, be thou watchful; strengthen the things that remain (Rev. 3: 2). Grow in these graces! These treasures are a most precious heritage from the fathers, but, in the words of Goethe: "Was du ererbt von deinen Vaetern hast, erwirb es, um es zu besitzen."

The main object of the following chapters of the second part of this book is to state, interpret and emphasize the Reformation message to our people. For celebrating Reformation-festivals does not only mean to review the history of the Reformation period, but rather to direct the attention of the American people anew to the essential principles of that great movement which underlie the civil and religious liberty of our modern life.

America Reserved for Protestantism.

It should be regarded as a special providence of the Ruler of destinies that this great continent, with all its wealth, was held in reserve for ages for a new order in the political life of man, destined to become in due time "the land of the free and the home of the brave." And when the time to discover the new continent came, it was again by a wise Providence that Columbus and the Spaniards were kept out of North America, thus securing its settlement to Protestant nations. Columbus discovered South America, and this came about by a direct intervention of God. Guided by a chart which Tuscannelli, a Florentine astronomer, had prepared, he passed the Canary Islands and would have reached the coast of Florida or Virginia had he not been persuaded by Pinzon, one of his companions, to turn to the southwest, to the direction which a flock of pigeons was observed to take. But for this change in his course, Roman Catholicism might now prevail throughout the United States. North America was discovered in 1498 by an English exploring expedition, just on the eve of the Reformation.

First Settled by Protestants.

So when later the Protestants of England were persecuted, they embarked in the "Mayflower" and landed, in 1620, at Plymouth Rock. Individual Germans came to America as early as 1611, but the first large company of Germans, under the lead of Daniel Pastorius, arrived on October 6, 1683, in the "Concordia," and founded Germantown, near Philadelphia. The Dutch settled in New York, the Swedes on the Delaware, and the French Huguenots in the Carolinas. Catholics also immigrated, but their number was small.

Liberated by Protestants.

When the time was ripe to liberate this nation from the yoke of Great Britain, Protestant principles inspired the fathers and found their strongest expressions in the immortal Declaration of Independence. A close comparison of the American revolution with the French, which was almost contemporaneous with ours, clearly exhibits the difference between Protestant-Teutonic and Catholic-Latin conceptions of

liberty. The American fathers opposed unequivocably the very principle of absolutism in all its forms, demanding civil and religious rights for every individual, while the French leaders retained the obnoxious principle of state absolutism, merely transferring these despotic powers from the king to the politicians and the masses. This resulted in the denial of individual rights, in exhibitions of the grossest despotism and a carnival of unspeakable atrocities. By an act of Parliament God was "dethroned" and a notorious harlot was placed on the High Altar of Notre Dame Cathedral in Paris as a symbol of the "Goddess of Reason"; hundreds of priests were executed or imprisoned, the Christian chronology was abolished, etc. On the other hand, one of the first things that George Washington, the Protestant, did after the downfall of British rule in America, was to attend a solemn official thanksgiving service, held in Zion's German Lutheran church, Phliadelphia. And in his inaugural address, in 1779, he gave fitting expression to his deep-felt religious and Protestant convictions when he said: "It would be peculiarly improper to omit, in this first official act, my fervent supplication to that Almighty Being who rules over the universe, presides in the councils of nations, and whose providential aids can supply every human defect, that His benediction may consecrate to the liberties and happiness of the people of the United States, a government instituted by themselves for these central purposes. In tendering this homage to the Great Author of every public and private good, I assure myself that it expresses your sentiments not less than mine own "

America Kept Protestant by Immigration.

Up to recent years the bulk of the immigration came from the various nations belonging to the Teutonic race, and hence was preponderatingly Protestant, thus preserving to America its Protestant character. The census of 1910 giving the descent of our present population shows that we are still Teutonic in blood and hence Protestant in spirit. This summary is confined to white persons and is given in two lists; the first embraces those who have been born in this country of foreign parentage and the second those who were born in foreign lands and have come to America. It is to be remembered that no one is

included in this statement unless he himself was born in a foreign land or one or both of his parents were foreign born.

MOTHER TONGUE	Foreign Stock	Foreign-Born
All mother tongues	32,243,382	13,345,545
Teutonic:		
Great Britain and Ireland	10,037,420	3,363,792
German	8,817,271	2,759,032
Dutch and Frisian	324.930	125,045
Flemish	44,806	25,780
Swedish	1,445,869	683,218
Norwegian	1,009,854	402,587
Danish	446,473	186,345
Latin and Greek:		
Italian	2,151,422	1,365,110
French	1,357,169	528,842
Spanish	448,198	258,131
Portuguese	141,268	72,649
Roumanian	51,124	42,277
Greek	130,379	118,379
Slavic and Lettic:		
Polish	1,707,640	943,781
Bohemian and Moravian	539,392	228,738
Slovak	284,444	166,474
Russian	95,137	57,926
Ruthenian	35,359	25,131
Slovenian	183,431	123,631
Serbo-Croatian:		
Croatian	93,036	74,036
Dalmatian	5,505	4,344
Servian	26,752	23,403
Montenegrin	3,961	3,886
Bulgarian	19,380	18,341
Slavic, not specified	35,195	21,012
Lithuanian and Lettish	211,235	140,963
Miscellaneous:		
Yiddish and Hebrew	1,676,762	1,051,767
Magyar	320,893	229,094
Finnish	200,688	120,086
Armenian	30,021	23,938
Syrian and Arabic	46,727	32,868
Turkish	5,441	4,709
Albanian	2,366	2,312
All other	790	646
Unknown	313,044	116,272

According to the same census more than twenty-six Americans out of every hundred are of German origin, and about thirty out of every hundred are either of English, Scotch or Welsh descent. Recent writers, like Dr. William Elliot Griffis, and Douglas Campbell, ("The Puritan in Holland, England and America") have therefore vigorously disputed the theory that the Americans are an "English" people. As Prof. Faust shows, only 30.2 per cent. of the mixed races of the United States are of English origin, while nearly 70 per cent. are of other racial descent. Dr. Griffis wisely declares: "We are less an English nation than composite of the Teutonic peoples," and the great American historian, Motley, declared: "We are Americans; but yesterday we were Europeans—Netherlanders, Saxons, Germans, Normans, Celts."

The High Value of Immigration.

Narrow-minded nativists opposed immigration from the very time when the Declaration of Independence was written. If they had had their way, the United States would be at this time an insignificant nation lost in an immense territory (as Canada and Australia are to-day), because the blood of the original settlers is fast dying out. How much does the United States owe to immigration, as regards the growth of population? Fredrich Kapp worked out a table covering the period from 1790 to 1860, the beginning of the Civil War, intended to show what the normal white population at the close of each decade would have been as a result of only the surplus of births over deaths of 1.38 per cent. each year, compared with the result as established by the official census figures.

	"Natural" Growth.	Census Figures.
1790	3,231,930	——
1800	3,706,674	4,412,896
1810	4,251,143	6,048,450
1820	4,875,600	8,100,056
1830	5,591,775	10,796,077
1840	6,413,161	14,582,008
1850	7,355,422	19,987,563
1860	8,435,882	27,489,662

The natural increase of the white population in 160 years would have been only 5,203,952, whereas it was 24,257,732, an increase of 19,053,780 over the natural growth. Statistics

show that in 1790 an American family averaged 5.8; in 1900 but 4.6. During the earlier period each family averaged 2.8 children, in 1900 but 1.53, a decline of nearly 50 per cent.

President Tucker, of Dartmouth College, is surely correct in saying: "If God were not pouring into New England out of the riches of other countries, New England would be empty. While the latest foreigner may not compare favorably with the native stock, the second and third generations are forging to the front, partly because of their virility and ambition, and partly through the sacrifice of the homes to educate their children. The rising scale of foreign population is on a better level than the falling scale of the native population. If the old New England stock is not willing to sacrifice as it used to, and if the New England boy is not as ambitious as his grandfather, I thank God that He is sending us those who are willing to sacrifice and anxious to rise; and that He is giving this challenge to the old stock: Rise up and show yourselves! If we do not see and feel it, it is to our shame. We are not the elect of God unless we prove our election, and if He can do better for the world through some other stock and religion than through the native stock and Protestant religion, let Him work in His own way." To this very day, tens of thousands of our foremost business men, educators, clergymen, artists and authors are immigrants and other tens of thousands of leading Americans are the children of immigrants.

It is a favorite American fiction that most of the crime in this country is due to the manifestation of evil propensities among the foreign-born. The facts do not bear out this conclusion, which is often used as an argument by those who would apply further and severer restrictions to immigration. Arther Woods, Police Commissioner of New York, has assembled statistics which show that natives of native parentage constitute 21 per cent. of the population and furnish 49 per cent. of the arrests; natives of foreign parentage constitute 38 per cent. of the population and constitute but 2 per cent. of the arrests; the foreign-born constitute 40 per cent. of the population and (like the natives of native parentage) furnish 49 per cent. of the arrests. In short, "foreigners" of the second generation who have enjoyed the social and personal advantages by which they are surrounded in this country show a criminal

percentage comparatively negligible. The figures refute the aspersions of those whose ancestors were emigrants, and who, having entered into possession of the land, would now put up the bars to keep out the newcomers.

Cosmopolitanism a Source of Strength.

This great variety of blood in the veins of the American people is an essential element of national strength, as all ethnologists concede. Says Herbert Spencer: "One great result is, I think, tolerably clear. From biological truths it is to be inferred that the eventual mixture of the allied varieties of the Aryan race, forming the American population, will produce a more powerful type of man than has hitherto existed, and a type of man more plastic, more adaptable, more capable of undergoing the modifications needful for complete social life. I think, whatever difficulties they may have to surmount, and whatever tribulations they may have to pass through, the Americans may reasonably look forward to a time when they will have produced a civilization grander than any the world has known." Dr. Baxter's official report shows that our native whites were over an inch taller than the English, and nearly two-thirds of an inch taller than the Scotch, who, in height, were superior to all other foreigners. At the age of completed growth, the Irish, who were the stoutest of the foreigners, surpassed the native whites, in girth of chest, less than a quarter of an inch. Statistics as to weight are meager, but Dr. Baxter remarks that it is perhaps not too much to say that the war statistics show "that the mean weight of the white native of the United States is not disproportionate to his stature." Americans were found to be superior to Englishmen not only in height, but also in chest measurement and weight. Mr. Darwin says: "There is apparently much truth in the belief that the wonderful progress of the United States, as well as the character of the people, are the results of natural selection; for the more energetic, restless and courageous men from all parts of Europe have emigrated during the last ten or twelve generations to that great country, and have there succeeded best."

America the Melting Pot.

It is an entirely unfounded fear, born of ignorance or prejudice that, in consequence of immigration, little Germanys, little Irelands, little Englands, little Italys, etc., might be perpetuated on American soil. Our history and present experience disprove such an assumption altogether. Nothing works as smoothly in America as the gradual amalgamation of the different nationalities into one harmonious whole, if not disturbed by narrow-minded nativistic agitators. Even among the first generation of newcomers the majority is most eager to acquire the use of the English language, and of their children a large number show very little interest in the language of their fathers. Only the educated classes of immigrants and some of their children make it a point of honor and higher education to hand down to their posterity the knowledge of the language of their ancestors as a precious heritage. And intelligent Americans should certainly be the last to discourage linguistic attainments, knowing as they do that the study of other languages promotes broad-mindedness and indicates higher culture. It is for this reason that more Anglo-Americans than foreign-born citizens have their children study German or French. Inability to use none but the English language is most assuredly not a sign of special loyalty to American ideals. Moreover, the use of various languages in churches, schools, newspapers, business and literature is an indispensable necessity in America. For millions of the inhabitants of our country can only be Americanized through the medium of their mother-tongue. To assert, therefore, in spite of the patent facts of our history, that only through the English language can Americanism be promoted is too ridiculous to waste any time in disproving it, since every page of American history shows its falsity. In every crisis of our nation, beginning with 1776, including the present World War, the true ideals of America were much better interpreted and defended by the German-American press than by a large part of the subsidized, foreign-owned and corporation-controlled metropolitan English press. Years before this war, the editor of the "New Yorker Staatszeitung" aptly put it when he declared, "We have no German papers in America, though we have thousands of ably edited, clean *American* newspapers

printed in the *German* language." As to ideals, contents, spirit and viewpoint these papers are thoroughly American. They disseminate the news and express editorially American opinions, views and ideals in the language medium which alone is understood by their readers. Were they to be suppressed, whoever depends upon them now to keep in touch with the events of the world, would have the choice only of remaining in the dark, or depending upon imported journals whose views are not always those most helpful to this country. Especially in these war-times, the German press will serve, also, as a balance against the violence of such English papers, which hold everything wicked in this world to have been made in Germany, and preserve to the future of the country a just and logical conception of world happenings, causes and effects. Owing to their mendacity and violence of expression many of the English papers have absolutely lost every vestige of influence over millions of good and true Americans, and it is this large class of our people which is being trained in true Americanism by the German-American press, in which they place confidence. Benjamin Franklin already saw this point, and himself published a German paper. Consequently, even if these pluro-lingual conditions were destined to become permanent, as in Canada, Switzerland, Austria and Russia, they would in no wise constitute a menace to national unity, to true Americanism or to Protestant principles. However, the dullest nativist should see that these conditions are transitional. Millions of Americans of German descent know not a word of their ancestors' language, which of course we do not mean to be understood as a compliment to their intelligence. Tens of thousands of churches and other organizations in which ten years ago non-English languages were used exclusively, have changed to English, partly or entirely. Hence, if America had no more serious problems than that of making the immigrant and his children forget the language of their fatherland, we might look with great serenity into the future, as this will take care of itself if left alone. Only narrow-minded nativistic knownothingism has the power to re-

tard the process of amalgamation, since it is a principle of human nature that whatever is attacked will be defended. It is a serious reflection on American liberty and broad-mindedness that there should be among us even a small class of men who wish to out-Russian Russia in its most despotic days by trying to curtail the liberty of any group of Americans to study and use whatever language they please. Moreover, while there are millions who cannot at all be reached effectively through the English language, there are other hundreds of thousands of Americans who can use and even master the English language, and who yet for sentimental or educational reasons prefer the German tongue, especially in divine service and social intercourse. Carl Schurz, who was the foremost leader of the German-Americans when, in 1861, by their votes, they kept Missouri and other states in the Union and by their swords upheld true American ideals while millions of "natives" were engaged in destroying the Union, truly said: "It is folly for persons who are prejudiced against everything that seems foreign to them, to make hysterical demands that there shall no longer be a German press in this country, and no publications other than those in the English language. Such demands are not instinctive of patriotism. They represent a blind disregard of the true interests of this country. No intelligent American may deny that the German press represents an absolute necessity for the German immigrant who does not understand English and who, with the best endeavors, is no longer able to master a new tongue. Those anxious souls are sadly afflicted with error who see a dangerous conspiracy against American ideas and institutions in the maintenance and cultivation of the German language. I am convinced that I am fundamentally acquainted with the spirit animating the German-speaking element of our population; and I do not hesitate to declare my sincere conviction that the preservation of the German language does not stand in the way of a sound appreciation of American institutions and conditions, or the development of a sound spirit of Americanism. On the contrary, it serves to ad-

vance the cause of both. The question arises whether it is desirable that the offspring of German-born citizens in America shall abandon their knowledge of the German tongue. Not as a German, but from a purely American standpoint, I answer decidedly, No. A knowledge of German has never harmed the character or spiritual development or the political principles of anyone. In the cultivated circles of American society a knowledge of German has become, so to speak, the fashion. Why? Because this knowledge has opened up to those who learned the language unusually rich treasures of literature, science and thought. Now while thousands of Anglo-Americans are toilfully striving to master a knowledge of the German language, would it be wise if other thousands, to whom the acquisition of this knowledge is made easier through the environment of their parental home, should abandon this opportunity as worthless or unpatriotic?''

True Protestants should despise all attempts to injure their fellow-citizens on the pretense of cultivating patriotism. Any endeavor to curtail a man's liberty to use other than the English language is a relapse into the spirit of intolerance denounced by the Reformers.

What Is True Americanism?

Nationality isn't a matter of race. It is a political and moral unity. There is, therefore, no occasion for excitement about hyphenated Americans. All Americans are more or less hyphenated. The American Indian is the only ''native.'' The hyphen never indicates divided allegiance. It never has a political meaning, but is used merely for descriptive and classifying purposes or for sentimental reasons. Only ignorance or enmity can see ''treachery'' in innocent ethnic descriptions of groups of Americans, like ''German-Americans,'' or ''Irish-Americans,'' or ''Anglo-Americans,'' or ''Scotch-Irish-Americans'' (even a double hyphen), or ''Pennsylvania-Germans.'' Colonel Roosevelt, in addressing the ''German Club'' of Milwaukee, truly said: ''Americanism is not a matter of birthplace, of ancestry, of creed,

of occupation; Americanism is a matter of the spirit that is within man's soul. From the time when we first became an independent nation to the present moment there has never been a generation in which some of the most distinguished and most useful men were not men who had been born on the other side of the Atlantic, and it is peculiarly appropriate and to me peculiarly pleasant that in addressing this club of the men upon whose efforts so much of the future welfare of this city, of the state, of this nation, depends, I should be addressing men who show by their actions that they know no difference between Jew and Gentile, Catholic and Protestant, native born and foreign born; provided only the man, whatever his creed, whatever his birthplace, strives to live a decent life."—To the same effect writes *The Kansas City Journal*: "What is it to be an alien? It is not merely to be born on the other side of the water, to come here and after waiting a probationary period be invested with the dignity of legal citizenship. What is it to be an American citizen? It is not merely to be born in the country, to inherit as a legacy of birth the privileges of participation in the affairs of the republic. To be a citizen in the true sense is to be a citizen in heart. Some men are mentally and morally qualified for citizenship when they land at Castle Garden, and others in whose veins run generations of American blood are all their lives alien in heart and Anarchists in sympathy. Speaking ethically, to be an alien is to be aligned against the spirit of our institutions. To be a citizen is to be in sympathy with the spirit of those institutions. Citizenship is loyalty, and no man is more of an alien than he who, born in this country, enjoying the priceless heritage of the past, his every interest safeguarded by the flag, is arrayed in heart and thought, even if not in action, against the genius of the American republic. No man is more of a citizen than he who, born on foreign soil, comes to this free land to help it work out its destiny, giving his energy and his sympathy to the fulfilment of its mission."—Justice Charles E. Hughes writes to the same effect: "I don't like those men who set aside a few as Americans and say that all the rest are for-

eigners. The few merely got here first. Many a man who has not been here ten years is a better American than some of those whose ancestors came here in the Mayflower. Shame upon the man who climbs up the ladder and tries to kick it down! Shame upon the man who, having come here himself or descended from those who did, looks now upon the newcomer as a foreigner to be abhorred!''

Americans Are We, Not Anglo-Saxons.

In view of these facts it is evidently a falsification of history and a misinterpretation of statistics to designate our nation and the type of our civilization as ''Anglo-Saxon.'' The history of original and subsequent immigration, as well as our national, physical, psychical, mental and religious characteristics disprove this assertion. To call Americans Anglo-Saxons is much more than one of those many innocent mistaken designations in common usage. It narrows American civilization to the cultural achievements of the descendants of the two German tribes, the Angles and Saxons, which in 449 conquered and settled England; it excludes the rich contributions of the German, Irish, Scotch, French, Dutch and Scandinavian immigrants who settled in America by the millions from the dawn of its history and whose descendants reach into many millions. The name ''Anglo-Saxon'' makes American culture appear inferior to that of any of the Teutonic nations in Europe, for even the British civilization of today is richer than would be indicated by this narrow term. The name ''Anglo-Saxon'' also places American culture below that of the two great Continental nations, Germany and France, since it is evident that modern British civilization does not reach up to the culture of those two nations. The name also degrades our unique American civilization to a mere copy of the culture of only one of the European nations, and even an imperfect copy at that. This is not only an insult to the descendants of Americans from the European Continent, but moreover has the tendency of slowly undermining the cordial loyalty of a large class of true Americans from non-English

countries. For they came to this country just because it belonged, as Lincoln said, to all the people who inhabit it, and is not to be considered merely a colony or a spiritual and financial dependence of one European country. Some historians are more generous in saying that our culture is Teutonic in character. But this is also too narrow, for of late the Latin, Slavic and Magyar peoples have contributed most valuable elements to the spirit of America. Hence, no other name will do but *American*. For ours is an entirely new nation, distinct from every other, as to blood, color, bodily structure, facial expression, mental and spiritual characteristics. This uniqueness of America is due not only to a mixture of all races, but also to the influence exerted on us by our very climate, the soil, food, water, yea, the very bigness of our territory reacts on our mentality and physical structure.

Therefore let Americans stop applying Tennyson's lines to their people: "Saxon and Norman and Dane are we." Let our motto forever be: "Americans are we!"

Testimonies to Our Uniqueness.

The truth of the foregoing considerations is dawning upon an increasing number of educated Americans. Col. Roosevelt writes: "We in this country form a new nation, akin to, but different from, each of the nations of Europe." The present Speaker of the House of Congress, Champ Clark, recently corrected a speaker as follows: "Don't say, we are Anglo-Saxons! Better use the term Teutonic or Germanic. I have heard enough about America being Anglo-Saxon. It is a false designation. We are not an Anglo-Saxon nation! Most of us, men like I, tall, of strong build, with blue eyes, light hair, white complexion, just as described by Tacitus in his book 'Germania'—all these are descendants of the great Teutonic race, the ruling race of the world, which has governed the world for nearly two thousand years. They do not come from the few thousand Angles and Saxons, which went from Germany to England and captured it. These were only a very small part of the great

Teutonic race, and, moreover, belonged to the more insignificant tribes.'' Good for the Speaker of the American Congress! We never suspected him of possessing such accurate knowledge of the true character of American nationality. — *The Congregationalist* writes: ''Sir Mortimer Durand did well in reminding his countrymen that the tie between England and the United States cannot any longer be described correctly as one of blood. English blood we have in abundance, but no longer in the ascendant. We have a community of language, we have in many ways a community of interests. If a war between us is not unthinkable, it is nearly so. But the majority of us are not Anglo-Saxons, and it will conduce to clear thought and even cordial relations if we recognize this fact.''—*The New York Weekly* adds: ''No one group of Americans shall be permitted to define Americanism in terms excluding more than one-half of the population. If we grant them this right, we shall have permanently divided this country into two classes: masters and helots.''—Douglas Campbell, in the ''Puritan in Holland, England and America,'' writes: ''Most American authors and all Englishmen who have written on the subject, set out with the theory that the people of the United States are an English race, and that their institutions, when not original, are derived from England. These assumptions underlie all American histories, and they have come to be so generally accepted that to question them seems almost to savor of temerity....Certainly no intelligent American can study the English people as he does those of the Continent, and then believe that we are of the same race, except as members of the Aryan division of the human family, with the same human nature.''—If this is an Anglo-Saxon country, why did only 53,532 British-Americans and 45,508 Englishmen serve in the Union army during the Civil War, while the army lists carried the names of 214,000 Germans and 144,221 Irish volunteers? Or only 99,040 Anglo-Saxons against 358,221 Germans and Irish, besides 74,855 others designated by Dr. Gould as foreigners not Anglo-Saxons?—A writer in the *London Examiner* calls

the attention of certain English critics of America and Americans to the fact that the phrase, "Our cousins across the sea," has little significance, except that in America English is the common speech. He tells his countrymen plainly that the purely English in America are very rare. We are indeed the melting-pot. That is what Zangwill called us, and the characterization is a happy one, adequate and expressive of the truth. Here are fused in the fires of our patriotism the Jew, the German, the Irishman, the Spaniard, the Frenchman, the Italian, the Eurasian—here are Latin and Teuton, Kelt and Slav—here the representatives of every race; and they become Americans. We are proud of those who come to us.

Our Literature Is Protestant And American.

As to authorship, subjects and spirit our literature is thoroughly American, decidedly Protestant, truly cosmopolitan and by no means narrowly British or Anglo-Saxon. A recent writer in a Southern magazine sees that from the time of the Revolution to the present we have grown less and less Anglo-Saxon in blood. For all that, our 19th century literary worthies—Browning, Irving, Cooper, Bryant, Stowe, Emerson, Thoreau, Hawthorne, Longfellow, Whittier, Holmes, Prescott, Motley, Poe, Lanier, Stedman, Harte, Aldrich, Clemens and Howells—were names essentially British in sound save only Thoreau and Lanier. Comparing this list with familiar contemporary American literary names—Van Dyke, Schurz, Repplier, Bynner, Guiterman, Cawein, Roosevelt, Oppenheim, Dreiser, Kauffman, Niehardt, Knoblauch, Santayana, Schauffler, Viereck, Benet, Hagedorn and Untermeyer—the question is asked: "Is our literature still English?" Then the writer asks "if the tendency to follow Continental methods" is necessarily reluctant from the fact that the Continental elements in our population are becoming relatively stronger and stronger numerically. Continuing:

"Whether one answers this question affirmatively or negatively, one can at least assert that two facts stand out side by side: first, that the American race is much more

Continental than it was fifty years ago; and, secondly, that the same is true of American literature. The first of these two facts is a matter of simple figures; and, as regards the second—it will scarcely be denied, for instance, that Hawthorne's "Arthur Dimmesdale" is far less English in temperament and in attitude toward life than older books."

Commended Reading.

1. Schaff, American Polit. Social and Rel. Character.

2. Hill, David Jayne, L. L. D., Americanism: What It Is. Pp. xv-280. New York: D. Appleton & Co. $1.25 net.

3. "The German-American Handbook." By F. F. Schrader. This is the history of the German-American. It gives a thorough account of the German-American's immense services to the United States on the field of battle, in the arts, in the civilizing work of the pulpit and the schools and in the government itself. Price 50c net.

4. Vollmer, Philip, American Civilization, on p. 202 of "Life of Calvin."

CHAPTER VIII.

Religious Liberty in America.

The most precious heritage which has been bequeathed to America by the Reformation is liberty of conscience. While this principle is cherished by all Protestants in theory, it has nowhere been put into practice to a larger degree than in America. But tender plants have their enemies, and so has the principle of religious freedom. Not that any group of men would be bold enough to agitate publicly any serious curtailment of the religious rights of an American! But there are strong forces at work among us which try insidiously to undermine the foundations of the American type of religious freedom. What these forces are and what good Americans must do to retain our Protestant heritage may best be stated in a brief discussion of some of the essential elements of true religious freedom.

Separation of Romanism and Americanism.

Intelligent Americans must learn clearly to distinguish between Catholicism, in the sense of a religion, and Romanism, in the sense of a spiritual and intellectual despotism by which an Italian priest, claiming to be the infallible representative of Christ, holds all Roman Catholics throughout the world in bondage. As a religious society, Catholicism is as little dangerous to American principles as any of the other denominations, and not nearly as repellant as some Protestant sects. But Romanism, with its tyrannous methods and its imperialistic pretensions and claims, is diametrically opposed to all the important principles on which American civil and religious liberty rests. For example, in his famous "Syllabus of Errors," of 1864, the pope visits with his severest malediction—"those who maintain the liberty of the press; or the liberty of conscience and of worship; or the liberty of speech; those who contend that papal judgments and decrees may without sin be disputed or differed from unless they treat of the rules of faith or morals; those who assign

to the state the power to define the civil rights and province of the Church; he denounces those who hold that Catholic Pontiffs and ecumenical councils have transgressed the limits of their power and usurped the rights of princes; those who declare that the Church may not employ force; or that power not inherent in the office of the episcopate, but granted to it by the civil authority, may be withdrawn from it at the discretion of that authority; he anathematizes those who affirm that the civil immunity of the Church and its ministers depends upon civil right; or that in the conflict of laws, civil and ecclesiastical, the civil laws should prevail; or that any method of instruction, solely secular, may be approved; or that knowledge of things philosophical and civil should decline to be guided by divine and ecclesiastical authority; or that marriage is not, in its essence, a sacrament. that is, in the sense that the Romish Church understands a sacrament; or that marriage, not sacramentally contracted, is of binding force (the pope's own explanation of this is that all marriage, so-called, outside the Catholic Church, is a filthy concubinage.—To explain some of the most important points, Pius IX. in his Encyclical Letter of Aug. 15, 1854, said: "The absurd and erroneous doctrines or ravings in defense of liberty of conscience are a most pestilential error—a pest, of all others, most to be dreaded in a state." The same pope, in his Encyclical Letter of Dec. 8, 1864, anathematized "Those who assert the liberty of conscience and of religious worship," also "All such as maintain that the Church may not employ force." The pacific tone of Rome in the United States does not imply a change of heart. She is tolerant where she is helpless. Says Bishop O'Connor: "Religious liberty is merely endured until the opposite can be carried into effect without peril to the Catholic world." *The Catholic Review* says: "Protestantism, of every form, has not, and never can have, any right where Catholicity is triumphant." The Archbishop of St. Louls once said: "Heresy and unbelief are crimes; and in Christian countries, as in Italy and Spain, for instance, where all the people are Catholics, and where the Catholic religion

is an essential part of the law of the land, they are punished as other crimes." In a sermon Cardinal Manning put the following sentences in the mouth of the pope: "I acknowledge no civil power; I am the subject of no prince; and I claim more than this. I claim to be the supreme judge and director of the consciences of men; of the peasant that tills the fields, and of the prince that sits upon the throne; of the household that lives in the shade of privacy, and the legislator that makes laws for kingdoms; I am the sole, last, supreme judge of what is right and wrong." He also says: "Moreover, we declare, affirm, define, and pronounce it to be necessary to salvation for every human creature to be subject to the Roman Pontiff." Of the utter degradation of reason, and the stifling of conscience the teaching of Cardinal Bellarmine affords a good example: "If the pope should err by enjoining vices or forbidding virtues, *the Church would be obliged to believe vices to be good and virtues bad*, unless it would sin against conscience." Manifestly there is an irreconcilable difference between papal principles and the fundamental principles of our free institutions. Popular government is self-government. A nation is capable of self-government only so far as the individuals who compose it are capable of self-government. To place one's conscience, therefore, in the keeping of another, and to disavow all personal responsibility in obeying the dictation of another, is as far as possible from *self*-control, and, therefore, wholly inconsistent with republican institutions, and, if common, dangerous to their stability. It is the theory of absolutism in the state, that man exists for the state.

The Oath Taken by the American Cardinals.

In 1911 the pope appointed two additional American Cardinals. In his address at their investiture the pope lamented greatly the separation of Church and State. The oath which these American citizens swore is as follows: "I, —— ——, of the Holy Roman Church, Cardinal of ———, promise and swear from this hour hence as long as I live to be faithful and obedient to the Blessed Peter, the Holy Roman

Apostolic Church and the Most Holy Lord Pius X., and also his canonically elected successors. I swear to give no counsel; not to concur in anything and not to aid in any way against the Pontifical Majesty or person; never to disclose affairs intrusted to me by the nuncios, or in their letters, willingly or knowingly, to their detriment or dishonor; to be ever ready to aid them to retain, defend or recover their rights against all. I shall fight with all my zeal and all my forces for their honor and dignity. I shall defend the legates and nuncios of the Apostolic See in all places under my jurisdiction, provide for their safe journey, treat them honorably on their coming, during their stay and on their return, and resist, even to the shedding of blood, whomever would attempt anything against them. I shall try in every way to assert, uphold, preserve, increase and promote the rights, even temporal, the liberty, the honor, privileges and authority of the Holy Roman Church of our Lord, the pope and his successors. When it shall come to my knowledge that some machination prejudicial to those rights, which I cannot prevent, is occurring, I shall immediately make it known to the pope, his successor, or some one qualified to convey such knowledge to him. I swear to observe and fulfill, and see that others observe and fulfill, the regulations, decrees, ordinances, dispensations, reservations and provisions of the Apostolic mandates and constitutions of Sixtus First of happy memory, and to combat with every effort heretics, schismatics and rebellious utterances against our Lord the pope and his successors. When summoned for any reason by the Holy Father or his successor, I shall obey, or, when detained by just cause, I shall send some one to present my excuse, to show due reverence and obedience. I shall never sell, give away, mortgage or alienate, without the consent of the Roman Pontiff, the convents, churches, monasteries, or their benefices committed to me, and I shall likewise observe inviolate the constitution of the Supreme Pontiff Pius X., beginning 'Vacante sede Apostolica,' given at Rome on the 25th day of December, in the year 1904, concerning the vacancy in the

Holy See and the election of the Roman Pontiff. I swear not to receive a commission from any civil power under any pretext to propose a veto, even under the form of a simple desire, in accordance with the constitution 'Commissum Nobis' given by Pius X. January 24, 1904, and not to disclose anything, no matter how known to me, either in open conclave or to the individual Cardinals, by writing or orally, directly or indirectly, before or during the conclave; and I promise to lend no help or countenance no intervention of any civil power in the selection of the pope. Likewise I shall observe minutely each and all decrees, especially those which have emanated from the sacred Congregation of Ceremonies, or those to come from it relative to the sublime dignity of the Cardinals. Nor shall I do anything repugnant to the honor and dignity of the Cardinalate."— Similar oaths are exacted by the pope of the bishops and other dignitaries, as well as of all the converts to Romanism and indirectly of all members of the Church of Rome. We fail to understand how a loyal American can take such an oath to a foreign prince. As all Protestant denominations have from the first severed all governmental connection with the countries from which they came, is it too much to ask of a Catholic fellow-citizen to do the same and form an American Catholic Church, free from all entangling alliances with papal imperialism?

Separation of Church and State.

Having severed all governmental relations with foreign powers, Catholics should join their Protestant fellow-citizens in strictly upholding the principle of modern America, that Church and State must be kept forever separate. Even in America it took centuries to learn this lesson. In all of the thirteen American colonies there existed some connection between Church and State, with the possible exception of Rhode Island, controlled by the Baptists, and Pennsylvania, under the influence of the Quakers and the Germans. In the constitution of South Carolina of 1778 it was declared that "the Christian Protestant religion should be

deemed and is hereby constituted and declared to be the established religion of this state." And further, that no agreement or union of men upon pretense of religion should be entitled to become incorporated and regarded as a Church of the established religion of the state, without agreeing and subscribing to a book of five articles, the third and fourth of which were "that the Christian religion is the true religion; that the holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments are of divine inspiration, and are the rule of faith and practice." When the United States was formed, the epoch-making first amendment was adopted, viz.: "Congress shall make no laws respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." Each of the states soon followed suit by adopting similar amendments.

No Separation of State and Christianity.

But separation of Church and State does by no means imply separation of Christianity and the State. For Church and Christianity are not synonymous. The first denotes the organization and the latter the force of religion. It is, moreover, impossible to separate State and religion, for the reason that the two classes of men composing the units of the two organizations are not two entirely separated agggregates of individuals. All of the members of the Church are, of course, members of the State also. The mutual influence of Church and State is, therefore, strong and decisive. The Church member in the person of the President will influence many of his State acts, performed in civil offices, and the citizen in the minister will guide him in the performance of his pastoral duties. The quantity and quality of Christian influence upon the State depends entirely on the strength and life of the Church. And, as Church life in America is vigorous and aggressive, it need not to be wondered at that her influence upon her younger brother, the State, is strong and decisive. In this sense of the terms most Americans, I think, will agree with Associate Justice David J. Brewer, of the Supreme Court of the United States, who in a book entitled "The United States a Christian Nation," brings to bear a large mass of supporting evidence in favor of the view stated in the title.

But let it be remembered that a State deserves the name Christian only in so far as its laws and actions reflect the spirit and teaching of Christ. Divine names in constitutions, state papers and on coins do no more make a nation Christian than an individual is considered a disciple of Christ by professing the name of the Savior and calling Him, "Lord, Lord."

Separation of Church and School.

To the Reformers belongs the honor of having from the first, and with some measure of practical success, most strenuously insisted on the principle of popular education. In America, too, our entire educational system from the public school to the university owes its origin to the Protestant Church. Gradually the state got ready to assume the control of the American system of education. All Protestants, even those maintaining parish schools and Church colleges, heartily approve of this change, while Catholic opposition to our public school system is general and well known. Says a Papal Encyclical: "XLV.—The Romish Church has a right to interfere in the discipline of the public schools, and in the arrangement of the studies of the public schools, and in the choice of the teachers for these schools. XLVII.—Public schools open to all children for the education of the young should be under the control of the Romish Church, and should not be subject to the civil power, nor made to conform to the opinions of the age." Said the Vicar General of Boston, in a public lecture, March 12, 1879: "The attitude of the Catholic Church toward the public schools of this country, as far as we can determine from papal documents, the decrees of the Council of Baltimore, and the pastorals of the several bishops, is one of non-approval of the system itself, of censure of the manner of conducting them that prevails in most places, and of solemn admonition to pastors and parents to guard against the dangers, faith and morals asising from frequenting them." The attitude of the Catholic Church towards our schools is not simply one of "non-approval," but of decided hostility. Says the Cincinnati Catholic Telegraph: "It will be a glorious day for the Catholics in this country when, under the blows of justice and morality, our school system will be shivered to pieces." In harmony with these principles, the Roman Church discourages by every means possible the prog-

SCHOOL OF

ress of the American school system partly by developing her own schools and thus separating the rising generation of the republic in sentiment and co-operation and partly by insisting on the division of the school funds raised by general taxation. The agitation to reach this latter end is so persistent that for greater safety many of our states have in their very constitutions prohibited any division of the school fund. New Mexico, for example, was kept out of statehood for several years by the machinations of the Roman priesthood because the constitution of that state contained such a prohibition. Another scheme of Rome to injure the American school system has been, first to compel the authorities, often by court procedure, to exclude every vestige of religious influence from our schools, and, after succeeding in this, to turn around and characterize these institutions as "godless." But, in spite of all this denunciation, great efforts are being made to have our schools filled with Roman Catholic teachers, in some cases by nuns wearing their religious garb. Not all their priests, however, are in harmony with this policy. Once in a great while an individual priest dares to oppose it openly, being willing to bear the dreadful consequences of such temerity. For example, the principal reason for disciplining Father McGlynn, in 1889, was his assertion that "it is a calumny to denounce the public schools of America as immoral and godless. It is a notorious fact, which will be cheerfully acknowledged by hundreds of priests who are compelled in spite of themselves to get up parish schools, that the teaching of the parish schools is altogether inferior to that of the public schools." But Protestants should be no less conscientious in keeping our public schools free from sectarian influence. As the school taxes are paid by all the citizens of whatever religious persuasion, Protestants should carefully abstain from abusing their majority in certain localities by infusing too much of their religious views into the public schools under their control. In numerous sections of this republic Protestant sentiment is so unanimous and pronounced that no one objects to using school houses for religious services or to conduct distinctly Protestant religious exercices in the schools, while in greatly mixed communities fairness and the spirit of tolerance should forbid this. On the other hand, Christian citizens have the right to object to any agnostic

teaching in our public schools under the guise of science and philosophy.

Separation of Church and State Funds.

The various Churches in America are doing an enormous amount of charity work for which in other countries the state pays by money derived from general taxation. Very naturally the custom of granting to these private institutions some assistance from the public treasury has grown up. And here lies the danger. Corrupt politics has laid its dirty hands also on this otherwise commendable co-operation, in consequence of which Protestant as well as Catholic Churches have from time to time exposed themselves to just criticism. Only recently an acrimonious controversy was going on between the mayor of New York and the authorities of some Catholic institutions. Realizing this danger, an increasing number of charitable institutions under non-Catholic control have arrived at the conclusion that the American principle of separation of Church and State would best be carried out by a cessation of this co-operation and by urging the State to do its full duty along the lines of social justice, independently, as other progressive nations do. In this connection the advisability of continuing the American system of tax exemption of Church property may be considered. Most of our people are still persuaded that such exemption is a just recognition of the benefits of the Church rendered to society. As one has truly said: "Crime now costs us $700,000,000 a year, and if there were no churches it would cost us ten times as much," and this would mean higher taxation. But the objects of tax exemption should never be unduly extended, so as not to encourage the Church to engage in land speculation. And here again it is our Roman friends who need watching. Almost all the revolts against her in the past were partly occasioned by her great wealth in land. Let Protestants take warning.

Separation of Church and Practical Politics.

Judged by her teaching and practice, the Roman Church has always been a political power of the foremost magnitude. Bismarck says: "The papacy has been a political power which with the greatest audacity and with the most momentous consequences has interposed in the affairs of this world. This

pope, though a foreigner, an Italian, is more powerful in Germany than the king." The troubles in Mexico have been partly due to the Roman Church in politics. Most certainly, should an American Christian make his influence felt at the ballot box in favor of high morality and religion, but he must do so in his sole capacity as a citizen, either acting individually or as a member of some civic organization, and never as a member of a church. Having learned wisdom from past ages, the average American demands that the church as an organization must be kept out of practical politics. Some Americans object even to promiscuous "deliverances" made by church bodies on political issues. But the Roman Church in America feels no compunction in this respect. She is persistently interfering in the making of political party platforms, being constantly on the watch to exclude from them any expression of purpose to protect principles and institutions distinctly American. In 1897 the "Western Catholic" wrote: "Harrison was defeated for President in 1892 because he was and is a sectarian bigot." In 1896 the Archbishop of New York wrote that "the Church would take as great a part in the coming campaign as it did in that against Henry George." In 1875 the Bishop of Newark, N. J., issued instructions to his people to vote against a certain amendment. The Catholic Church is not only in league with politics, but very often with the most corrupt existing. In 1894 "Puck" wrote that the Catholic Church was most active against the reform movement in New York and in favor of Tammany Hall, and charged that the Archbishop had "made a disgraceful exhibition of pernicious activity in local politics." Rome also favors voting solidarity by promoting the formation of a clerical party, as we find them in many European parliaments. Pope Leo XIII writes: "In politics men ought always and in the first place to serve the interests of Catholicism. As soon as these are seen in danger, all differences should cease between Cathoiics." Probably the greatest religious convocation ever held in the United States was that of 20,000 Roman Catholics, most of them of the laity, who met in New York during the week of August 20, 1916, to discuss "vexed" problems of the day. It was the American Federation of Catholic Societies, which, with a membership of over two million, exerts a wide influence "not only within the

borders of its Church, but comes in touch at many points with the non-Catholic world." To define the Federation, Cardinal Farley, of New York, writes: "The meaning of the Federation is evident from its name. It seeks to bind all Catholic organizations, parishes, clergy and people in easy ties of acquaintance, affection and co-operation, based upon the single principle, which, humanly speaking, causes the perpetuity of the Church and the glory of the nation—in union there is strength. The conventions are held every year in different cities to discuss and to promote the most important interests of the Church and the great questions of the day in their relations to the Church, public and private morals, patriotism, social reform, domestic and foreign propagation of the faith, the theatre, Catholic press, Catholic literature, Catholic education, etc." All our public officials stand in great dread before the "Catholic vote." Influenced by it, Republicans as well as Democrats have for a number of years attended the spectacle of the "Pan-American Mass" on Thanksgiving Day, and the Associated Press was careful to send this information abroad, making the impression on foreign countries that America is "officially" Catholic. In 1898, Judge Righter, of New Orleans, refused an application to cite the Mother Prioress as a witness, saying: "If it were twenty times the law, I would refuse to bring a nun into my court." One difference between the priest and the parson in politics is that the latter usually does his wire-pulling openly. An illustration of this sort comes from Iowa, where a ministerial association in a leading city, representing nearly sixty preachers of various denominations, comes out in energetic support of one of the gubernatorial candidates, and has set apart a certain Sunday for its members individually to discuss the subject in their pulpits.

Toleration in Modern America.

If the reader of the preceding pages has understood the author as favoring discrimination against Roman Catholics, he has sadly misunderstood him. On the contrary, he greatly deplores the spirit and practice of civil and religious intolerance against any individual or class of Americans. To do so would constitute a practical denial of our ideals as an incipient

democracy and would deny us a place among the foremost nations of the world in point of true religious, political and intellectual freedom. The many ugly blots on the escutcheon of Protestantism in this respect, here and abroad, are well known and deeply deplored. Americans regret the persecutions practiced by Protestants against fellow Protestants in old Europe. (Servetus, the Anabaptists, Crell.) But especially do Americans deplore that even on this virgin soil religious intolerance of a most revolting type was practiced by the very people who fled from persecution abroad. In Massachusetts the law provided various penalties, according to the gravity of the offense. Ten shillings or be whipped for profaning the Lord's day; death for presumptuous Sunday desecration; fines for traveling on the Lord's day; boring tongue with red-hot iron, sitting upon the gallows with a rope around the offender's neck, etc., at the discretion of the Court of Assizes and General Gaol Delivery. ("Acts and Laws of the Province of Mass. Bay 1692–1719," p. 110.) It was pretty much the same in Connecticut, where the laws explicitly prohibited "walking for pleasure," while Maryland provided "death without benefit of clergy for blasphemy." Practically every English colony had similar laws and ordinances. We read in Jefferson's "Notes on Virginia" (1788, p. 167): "The first settlers were immigrants from England, of the English Church, just at a point of time when it was flushed with a complete victory over the religion of other persuasions. Possessed, as they became, of the power of making, administering and executing the laws, they showed equal intolerance in this country with their Presbyterian brethren who had emigrated to the Northern government. . . . . Several acts of the Virginia Assembly, of 1659, 1662 and 1693, had made it penal in parents to refuse to have their children baptized, had prohibited the unlawful assemblage of Quakers, had made it penal for any master of a vessel to bring a Quaker into the state, had ordered those already there, and such as should come hereafter, to be imprisoned until they should abjure the country—provided a milder penalty for the first and second return, but death for their third. If no capital executions took place here, as did in New England, it was not owing to the moderation of the

Church, or spirit of the Legislature, as may be inferred from the law itself; but to historical circumstances which have not been handed down to us." William H. Taft, when President, said: "We speak with great satisfaction of the fact that our ancestors came to this country to establish freedom of religion. Well, if you are to be exact, they came to establish freedom of their own religion, and not the freedom of anybody else's religion. The truth is that in those days such a thing as freedom of religion was not understood." Just what American freedom was at the time that English influence was at high tide, unleavened by the liberal and tolerant ideas brought over from the European continent, may be inferred from the following extract from the "Columbian Sentinel" of December, 1789, quoted in "American State Papers": "The tithingman also watched to see that 'no young people walked abroad on the eve of the Sabbath', that is, on the Saturday night (after sundown). He also marked and reported all those who 'lye at home' and others who 'profanely behaved', lingered without dores at meeting time on the Lord's Daie', all 'the sons of Belial strutting about, setting on fences, and otherwise desecrating the day'. These last two offenders were first admonished by the tithingman, then 'sett in stocks', and then cited before the Court. They were also confined in the cage on the meeting house green, with the Lord's Day sleepers. The tithingman could arrest any who walked or rode too fast in pace to and from meeting, and he could arrest any who 'walked or rode unnecessarily on the Sabbath'. Great and small alike were under his control." Even General Washington, while President, was interfered with on one oacasion by the "tithingman." Some of these laws are still on the statute books in New England. Only a few months ago the lovers of freedom were startled by the following despatch: "The trial in Waterbury, Conn., of the Rev. Michael Mochus, a Lithuanian clergyman of the Unitarian Church, on a charge of questioning the stories of Jonah and the whale and Adam and the forbidden fruit, will attract attention. The clergyman is accused of having violated a law adopted in that state in 1642, providing a penalty for anyone 'who calls into question any portion of the Holy Writ.'"

Organized Discrimination Against Catholics.

The very offense rightly charged against many of the Roman Catholic leaders is being committed to this day by non-Catholics against their Catholic fellow-citizens. The best known organized attempt to deprive them of their rights was the short-lived "Know Nothing Party", which came into prominence in 1853. Its fundamental principle was that the government of the country should be in the hands of native citizens. At first it was organized as a secret oath bound fraternity; and from their professions of ignorance in regard to it, its members received the name of "Know Nothings". In 1856 it nominated a Presidential ticket, but disappeared about 1859, its Northern adherents becoming Republicans, while most of its Southern members joined the short-lived Constitutional Union party. It was preceded by the Native American party, formed about 1842, an organization based on hostility to the participation of foreign immigrants in American politics, and to the Roman Catholic Church. In 1844 it carried the city elections in New York and Philadelphia, and elected a number of Congressmen. It disappeared within a few years, after occasioning destructive riots against Catholics in Philadelphia and other places. T. W. Barnes in his life of Thurlow Reed writes: "If a member of the order was asked about its practices, he answered that he knew nothing about them, and 'Americans' for that reason soon came to be called Know Nothings!"

The Value of Tolerance.

Tolerance is the very essence of our scheme of government. Tolerance leads to understanding, to mutuality of effort, to social solidarity. Hence wherever we observe symptoms of that dark intolerance which was so much responsible for deluging the earth with blood and making mankind unhappy through the darker ages of the world's history, let every good American uproot the poisonous weed by word and deed. Discriminating in any way against Roman Catholics because of their religion is un-American, un-Christian, un-Protestant. For more than one reason: (1) Most of them are absolutely loyal Americans; (2) they have a perfect right to be represented in official positions to the full extent of their number and ability; (3)

never again shall a religious or racial test be applied in this fair land of ours; (4) we should beware of transplanting old world animosity to a land where religious tests and State Churches are forbidden; (5) we should be entirely sincere and not praise religious liberty by word of mouth and deny it in practice; (6) religious and racial attacks never succeed. It is a law of human nature that whatever is attacked will be defended. Crush, therefore, the poisonous reptile of religious, political and racial intolerance wherever you find it crawling around in the dark!

Commended Reading.

1. King, "Facing the Twentieth Century."
2. "Political Romanism," by Chattin Bradway.
3. "Romanism a Menace to the Nation," by Jeremiah J. Crowley.
4. Thorndike, H., "The Right of the Church in a Christian State."
5. Vollmer, Philip, "Calvinism in America,'" p. 202 of "Life of Calvin."
6. "Ethical and Moral Instruction in the Schools," by George Herbert Palmer, 40c.
7. Wenner, G. U., "Religious Education and the Public School."
8. Thompson, R. W., "The Papacy and the Civil Power."
9. Strong, J., "Our Country."

CHAPTER IX.

Social and Economic Justice a Demand of Protestantism.

In the pursuit of their aim to restore the true gospel, the Reformers justly emphasized also some of the social teachings of Christ, such as true liberty, righteousness, God's fatherhood and the Golden Rule. And though they themselves were not far enough advanced, nor were their times ripe, to put many of Christ's economic principles into practice, they must be given credit on this point, too, for sowing the right kind of seed, since this is, after all, decisive for any future healthy progress in the right direction. To-day we are reaping many a luscious fruit grown on the tree of social justice which our Protestant forefathers have planted.

Scope of the Social Question.

Real democracy implies economic and social justice, as well as political. Economic justice implies the opportunity to work, just wages for work done, a fair share of the earnings produced, the certainty of food, shelter and medical attendance to the end. We believe that hardly anyone, with any love of humanity in him, any sense of the direction in which the world is moving, any prophetic instinct, will deny that this is a fair statement of true democracy. A "democracy" consisting merely in allowing the people to "vote" is a miserable fraud, as experience shows. We are not here concerned with Socialism, Communism, Progressivism, or any other theory, movement or party. We are not at all sure that the future political order will be any of which men now dream. It will combine some features of them all. It will be real democracy, whatever form it will assume, and it will provide justice for all. For two of the most incompatible things in the world are democracy and special privilege. Yet special privilege is continually being bought from our State legislatures and from the National Congress itself. Great corporations, railroads, industries, even societies are forever buying legislation—such legislation often robbing the people of millions of dollars. The people are beginning to realize the enormity of this crimi-

nality practiced against them. Said President Seelye to the graduating class of Amherst College: "There is one question of our time toward which all other questions, whether of nature, of man or of God, steadily tend. . . . No one will be likely to dispute the affirmation that the social question is, and is to be, the question of your time. That question must be met in the United States. We need not quiet misgiving with the thought that popular government is our safety from revolution. It is because of our free institutions that the great conflict of socialism with society as now organized is likely to occur in the United States." What is meant by social and economic justice to all classes of people may best be explained by an enumeration of some of the most essential rights which are still withheld from the common people, either partially or totally.

Preserve to All the People Our Country's Natural Resources.

Commissioner Davies, of the late Bureau of Corporations, reported in 1914 that 1695 timber owners hold in fee over one-twentieth of the land area of the United States, from the Canadian to the Mexican borders—a total of 105,600,000 acres—while 16 holders own nearly half of this, or 47,800,000 acres. The United States Steel Corporation controls about 60 per cent. of the Lake Superior ores of the country, and about one and a half per cent. of the stockholders of the United States Steel Corporation own 57 per cent. of the stock. The known Standard Oil concerns marketed in a recent year 88.7 per cent. of the illuminating oil. According to data recently furnished by the Secretary of Agriculture in a report submitted to the Senate, 18 corporatians control more than one-half of the total water power now used by public service corporations in the United States, while six corporations control more than one-quarter. According to the report there is a marked tendency toward association or community of interests, particularly between the principal holding companies. This is practical monopoly. But "monopoly of natural resources held at monopoly prices inevitably means poverty for the many," writes Benjamin C. March, a taxation expert and economist of New York. For this reason the American people must be encouraged to destroy the octopus. Taxation will be the most effective method of breaking up the monopoly of farm, urban

and timber lands, etc. To break up the monopoly of mines, oils, railroads, etc., taxation is altogether too slow a method. The Government should take over these monopolies, paying those now holding title to them only what they have actually put into the properties, whether that be one-tenth or one-twentieth of the present selling price.

Danger of Land Monopoly.

In his quaint dialect, Thomas Carlyle said to an American about 60 years ago: "Ye may boast o' yer dimocracy, or any ither 'cracy, or any kind o' poleetical roobish: but the reason why yer laboring folk are so happy is thoth ye have a *vost deal o' land for a verra few people.*" Carlyle was not mistaken in finding great significance in the fact that heretofore our land has been vastly greater than its population. Our high wages, the general welfare and contentment of the people hitherto have all been due, in very large measure, to an abundance of cheap land. When the supply is exhausted, we shall enter upon a new era, and shall more rapidly approximate European conditions of life. To the same effect Macaulay said in 1857: "Your fate I believe to be certain, though it is deferred by a physical cause. As long as you have a boundless extent of fertile and unoccupied land, your laboring population will be far more at ease than the laboring population of the Old World. . . . But the time will come when New England will be as thickly peopled as Old England. Wages will be as low, and will fluctuate with you as much as with us. You will have your Manchesters and Birminghams. And in those Manchesters and Birminghams hundreds of thousands of artisans will assuredly be some time out of work. Then your institutions will be fairly brought to the test. These predictions are being fulfilled. Startling figures drawn from Government archives showing the alarming increase in concentration of land ownership in the United States have been compiled for the first time. Ten per cent. of the population owns 90 per cent. of the land in the United States. Here are just a few of the alarming figures: In seven states 1,802 holders own 89,652,000 acres. The Southern Pacific Railroad owns 13,879,931 acres. The Union Pacific Railroad owns 975,127 acres, equivalent to the land areas of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New Jersey

and Delaware. The Weyerhausers own 1,525,000 acres in two states. 182 men own 16,990,000 acres in Florida, or about half the state. Three men own 4,200,000 acres in Florida. The Michigan Iron and Land Co. owns 320,000 acres. The Cleveland Iron Co. owns 890,000 acres. The Chicago & Northern Railroad owns 370,000 acres. Three corporations in Oregon own, respectively, 175,000, 800,000 and 36,000 acres. Ten men in Louisiana own 440,000 acres. One man owns 125,000 in California, received as paper concessions. The Miller and Lux estate in California has 14,500,000 acres. Most of these land grants were "concessions" obtained either through sheer graft or through official favoritism. In his famous interview in the *Saturday Evening Post* President Wilson is on record as desiring "a suitable solution" of the Mexican land question, so that, as he put it, "the day will come when the Mexican people will be put in full possession of the land, the liberty and the peaceful prosperity that are rightfully theirs."

The above statistics prove that the United States is in as great need for "land reform" as is Mexico herself. Moreover, the great evil in the monopoly of land is shown in the sinister increase of tenant farmers and landless men in the cities, who would be farmers if they could. In 1910 nearly one-fifth of the acreage of farm lands in the country was held in tracts of 1000 acres or more, while one-third of the farms were less than 50 acres.

Ownership of Public Utilities.

To secure the better distribution of this common wealth among the common people, society has created artificial persons called corporations. A corporation is a combination by which many hundreds of people jointly own and share in the profits of a property too large to be owned by one individual; a combination by which administration is unified and profits are divided. When corporations which were created to promote the distribution of wealth become an instrument for the concentration of wealth, society has a right to intervene. When they fail to fulfill the purpose for

which society created them, society, which created them, has a right to require of them a change in their methods. And this is now demanded by an ever increasing number of our most intelligent and disinterested citizens. Carter H. Harrison, five times mayor of Chicago, asserted on the eve of his retirement from office: "The more I see of private ownership of public utilities, the more I am convinced that there is but one safe and sane plan for the public to adopt —namely, to set its mind with determination upon public ownership and not to deviate by a hair's breadth from the most direct course by which it may be attained. Private management is interested in profitable operation. Economy of operation and inferior service contribute unfailingly to increased profits. Economy of operation consists chiefly of low wages and long hours for all employees except the higher officials." At the annual Conference of American Mayors, in 1915, public ownership of monopolistic public utilities was the nearly unanimous sentiment of the speakers.

The statement is frequently seen in the American press that government ownership of the railways of Europe has not proven a financial success, whatever its other gains may be. Such statements are untrue, and are put in the papers for a purpose. The average fare in Germany is .88 cents a mile and in England it is 1.75 cents, or nearly twice as much. The following are the charges for a trip of 400 miles, single fare, in different countries. In Europe rates are third class, in America in coaches.

Denmark	$2.90 (State)
Germany	$5.56 "
Switzerland	$6.66 "
Belgium	$4.85 "
Great Britain	$8 25 (Private)
United States	$8.00 to $12 (Private)

How "Safety First" works in the different countries is shown by the following figures:

Country	Passengers Carried	Passengers Killed	Passengers Injured
United States	891,472,425	253	10,311
Great Britain	1,265,080,711	94	3,370
France	491,936,930	8	383
Germany	1,469,987,000	84	567
Belgium	193,069,662	11	359

The principal opposition to government or to municipal ownership in this country has been because of our politics. We have been warned by the franchise press that a municipal street railway would fall a prey to every wardheeler, that corrupt aldermen would build up a "street railway machine," and the like. The real facts, however, prove the exact opposite. Mayor Harrison, of Chicago, said: "Graft and corruption in municipal government is directly attributable to the private ownership of public utilities and of the contract system of construction of public works. For in order to get the property belonging to the whole people under their control, the representatives of the special interests spend millions every year in direct and indirect graft, so that the people, besides losing the benefits of public ownership, have in addition to pay enough to provide for these corruption funds." Here is only one of the thousands of similar illustrations. Two years ago the criminal wrongdoing of the Morgan-Rockefeller crowd in looting the New Haven railroad and corrupting New England was officially exposed, and severely censured by the Interstate Commerce Commission. We quote from the report: "This investigation has demonstrated that the monopoly theory of those controlling the New Haven was unsound and mischievous in its effects. To achieve such monopoly meant the reckless and scandalous expenditure of money; it meant the attempt to control public opinion, corruption of government, the attempt to pervert the political and economic instincts of the people in insolent defiance of law. Through exposure of the methods of this monopoly the 'invisible' government which has gone far in its efforts to dominate New England has been made 'visible.' It has been clearly proved how public opinion was distorted; how officials who were needed and who could be bought were bought; how newspapers that could be subsidized were subsidized; how a College professor and publicists secretly accepted money from the New Haven while masking as a representative of a great American University and as the guardians of the interests of the people; how agencies of information to the public were prostituted

wherever they could be prostituted in order to carry out a scheme of private transportation monopoly imperial in its scope." On this official report U. S. Senator La Follette comments as follows: "That is the way of private monopolists. Crooked, corrupting, criminal, conscienceless, covert, these respectable kings of finance have besmirched their nation. These pious masters of capital in seizing an industrial empire for themselves and their heirs have laid low the edifice of human liberty our forefathers sought to erect. They have undermined courts and legislatures and congresses and presidents. They have paralyzed the mighty arm of government. They are outlaws." But the most scathing arraignment of these and other upholders of economic injustice may be found in President Wilson's latest book on "The New Freedom." This shameful betrayal of the people's confidence and the corrupt management of the property which often all belongs to the whole people has prepared the American electorate to introduce more of what in Europe is flourishing under the name of "state socialism." The principle has always been in force in America for our highways, the postoffice, the parcel post, the postal saving banks, our school system, the municipal ownership of water works, street cars, lighting plants, the Alaska Railroad, etc., are all parts of state socialism, that is, they are operated by society for the benefit of society, instead of by private parties for private gain. The question, therefore, is not whether America should "introduce" state socialism, for we already have it in hundreds of forms, but how far the policy should be extended. And its extension depends on the honesty and efficiency of the special interests.

A More Equitable Distribution of Wealth.

A crying injustice to the American people which, in the name of true Protestant principles, demands speedy readjustment, consists in the marked and increasing tendency toward a *congestion of wealth.* The enormous concentration of power in the hands of one man is unrepublican and dangerous to popular institutions. It is the tendency

of our civilization to destroy the easy gradation from poor to rich which now exists, and to divide society into only two classes—the rich and the comparatively poor. In 1910 one per cent. of the population owned 89 per cent. of the wealth of the country. One way to equalize wealth to some extent would be a more equitable system of direct taxation, especially a fairer inheritance and a better graded income tax. Of the latter Senator William E. Borah, of Idaho, said: "The income tax is the fairest and most equitable of all the taxes. It is the one tax which approaches us in the hour of prosperity and departs in the hour of adversity. The farmer, though he may have lost his entire crop, must meet the taxes levied on his property. The merchant, though on the verge of bankruptcy, must respond to the taxes imposed. The laborer who goes to the store to buy his food, though it be his last, must buy with whatever extra cost there may be imposed by reason of customs duties. But the income tax is to be met only after you have realized your income. After you have met your expenses, provided for your family, paid for the education of your children for the year, then, provided you have an income left, you turn to meet the obligations you owe to the government." Another method for preventing congestion of wealth would be a stricter enforcement of our criminal laws against our "respectable" outlaws and the "malefactors of great wealth." For we have big anarchists as well as little anarchists. We have rich law-breakers as well as poor. We have rich criminals as well as poor criminals. And bad men are alike, no matter what kind of clothes they wear or what society they frequent. The men at the head of our trusts, great bankers and great manufacturers, if they are wicked or if they break the law, or use the law for their own advantage, are as guilty and are as undesirable citizens as the wild-eyed and loud-talking man who tries to excite the crowds on the street corners, in the public squares or in the parks of our great cities. Both these classes we should make obey the laws. If they do not, they should be given a place side by side behind the prison bars.

Social Insurance.

To be just to the dependent classes means to secure to them by law the necessities of life in all vicissitudes of life. This is known as "social insurance," a term that has been coined to serve as a collective designation of (1) insurance against accidents; (2) insurance against sickness; (3) insurance against old age and invalidity; (4) insurance against death, or, as it is more usually called, life insurance; and (5) insurance against unemployment. What is it that has given rise within the past generation to this world-wide demand for the compulsory insurance of the working classes by the state? The answer to this question is found primarily in the industrial revolution of the nineteenth century. Under our modern system of labor the vast majority of workers must remain mere wage-earners, divorced from the tools of production and barred in great part from opportunities for individual action. In large part growing out of it, is the fundamental change in the domain of thought that marks the conversion of the western world from the old rigid theory of individual rights and duties to that which gives large prominence to the idea of social obligations. The principle of the greatest good to the greatest number, which Jeremy Bentham and the utilitarians, staunch individualists though they were, did so much to make prevail; the doctrine that society as such has the affirmative duty of taking such action as will promote human welfare and correct the evils that are social rather than individual, have more and more become the recognized mainsprings of collective action. Society, with the sanction of all, is now deliberately applying itself to the task of bringing about a greater measure of social justice.

The principle of social insurance by the state will be, in the course of time, much farther extended. Wisconsin, for example, is the first state in the Union to offer its citizens life insurance. This system has the great benefit of absolute security and low rates.

Health Insurance.

In order to do justice to the man of small means, to meet the problem of destitution due to sickness and to make health insurance a valuable adjunct to the broad movement for the conservation of public health, every state should in the near future enact laws which would provide: (a) for a compulsory system for the conducting of health insurance by non-profit-making insurance carriers; (b) for a thoroughly adequate provision for the care and treatment of the sick; and, (c) for contributions for the insured from industry and from the state.—Americans are an unhealthy people. A bulletin of the United States Bureau of Education, prepared in 1912, makes a list of the maimed and crippled as follows. This is, of course, exclusive of the vast number of temporary debilities: 400,000 children have organic diseases; 1,000,000 children have tuberculosis in some form; 1,000,000 children have spinal curvature; 1,000,000 children have defective hearing; 4,000,000 children are suffering from malnutrition; 6,000,000 children have enlarged tonsils, adenoids or other glandular disease; 10,000,000 children have defective teeth; 15,000,000 children need attention for physical defects which are prejudicial to health. As some of the reasons for the poor state of health of the American people may be assigned: Commercialized medicine; the expensiveness and insecurity of private health insurance; our inadequate factory laws and the lack of instruction in the preservation of health. "Private health insurance is enormously costly, compared with public health insurance," says Miles M. Dawson, of New York, an actuarial expert. "The private insurance companies in this health field use more than 60 cents out of each dollar received; they pay back in benefits only about 30 cents on the average. That is, expenses and profits add 70 cents to 30 cents net cost, an addition of 233 and one-third per cent. The publicly and democratically administered health insurance funds average in Germany to cost about 7 per cent. for operating expense—or, after laying aside ample contingency reserves, 10 per cent. of the average net cost or less. In our country established funds, man-

aged by representatives of employers and employes, are often conducted for 5 per cent. or less.'' To keep the people in good health is not only good ethics, but also sound business For this reason a number of life insurance companies, from purely selfish business considerations, are abandoning their *laissez-faire* policy so far as to give their policy-holders periodical health examinations. The following are the ways in which Dr. Fisk suggests that life insurance companies should broaden their functions into those of life saving as well as death-indemnity; 1. Educational work among policy-holders by means of health bulletins. 2. Direct intensive work among policy-holders by means of periodic health surveys solely for the purpose of prolonging life. 3. Reports and advice to entering policy-holders with regard to their condition as risks and the ways by which they can become better risks. 4. Co-operation with health departments and health agencies to secure better health legislation. 5. Thorough organization and standardization as to technique of the medical examinations, in order that the results may be of value to science in the study of human defects and the influence of living habits. 6. The stimulation among medical men throughout the country of a close study of diagnostic technique in the detection of early signs of bodily impairment and the personal hygiene necessary to combat such tendencies.

Commercialized Medicine.

The greatest injustice to society at large and to the working man in particular consists in what has been styled our American system of commercialized medicine. This system exposes the physician to greater temptations than the ordinary business man, because those to whom he offers his goods are unable to judge the character of what he recommends them to buy. It further puts the best medical assistance beyond the reach of the family of small means. A prominent physician, Dr. Richard Cabot, has recently attacked this system with great vigor. He writes: ''I do not say that surgeons perform unnecessary operations for money, but I must say that they are under extraordinary temptations

to do so, and if they always resist those temptations they must be far above the ordinary man in virtue. I have seen many a consultation inside a hospital group and many outside of it, and I have had occasion to compare the utter freedom from pecuniary bias that obtains among physicians of a free hospital with the desperate efforts of privately paid consultants to make up their minds uninfluenced by considerations of profit. In my mind there is no possible doubt that the patient in a free hospital gets a sounder, cooler, better balanced judgment on the question: 'Is operation now necessary or unnecessary?' than he does under the conditions of private practice outside hospitals.'' Moreover, when not dependent on fees the physician is more strongly inclined to exert himself in instructing the people as to the best methods of keeping well. Says Dr. Cabot: ''Such guidance will be given upon a large scale only when medicine is organized as a co-operative, salaried service. For under the fee system, the more teaching he does, the less he earns. His interest and the patients' are diametrically opposed. They should run parallel. If medicine were organized as I have advocated, the doctor's salary might be made to depend upon his success in educating his patients, and through them the surrounding community, so thoroughly that disease and the resulting unemployment would actually begin to fall off. Hence, the fact that the private practitioner has to make his living out of disease handicaps his eagerness to diminish and prevent disease in his vicinity, and distracts him from putting his best efforts into the study and practice of preventive medicine and hygienic education. The remedy lies in *an insurance system centered round hospitals.* This is no remote ideal. It has been in operation for eight years at the University of California and to a lesser extent in other state Universities, where for a small annual fee the student body is served by a group of salaried physicians, who work as a team in a hospital managed by the University. Thus for five dollars a year seven thousand students are enabled to get a better type of diagnosis, treatment and prevent-

ive advice than is now obtainable by any group of people in the country except the very rich and the very poor. The abuses that can creep into a public co-operative system are as nothing compared to those unavoidable in private competitive medicine. Competition brings out all the worst of medical men. Salaried co-operative team work in public hospitals brings out much of the doctors' best and very little of their worst." Apparently Dr. Cabot is not alone among eminent medical authorities in believing that the downfall of the individual fee system is at hand and that some kind of corporate regulation of health will replace it. In The Modern Hospital (St. Louis) Dr. Alexander Lambert, chairman of the American Medical Association's Social Insurance Committee, states his belief that the change will take place in the direction of some such form of health-insurance as is now compulsory under government auspices in Germany and Great Britain. That this is inevitable for wage-earners he positively asserts. Its forerunner—workmen's compensation—has already been adopted in thirty-four states within six years. The next logical step, Dr. Lambert thinks, is to protect the wage-earner, not only when his disability is due to sickness or accident arising directly from his employment, but also from other sources. He says: "Bills providing for just such protection to manual employees and other employees earning less than $100 a month were introduced into the Legislatures of Massachusetts, New York and New Jersey during the sessions of 1916. For these groups health-insurance is made compulsory, because experience elsewhere has shown that voluntary insurance does not reach the persons who most need protection. The benefits provided are medical, surgical and nursing attendance, including necessary hospital care, medicines and supplies; also a cash benefit....The cost....is to be borne two-fifths by the employee, two-fifths by the employer and one-fifth by the state...."

Temperance and the Day of Rest.

Protestant Christianity should never cease crying out against the great social injustice of allowing the American

saloon to exist. To destroy the American saloon the co-operation of at least five principal agencies is necessary. The most effective gun, though not the noisiest, is the Christian and moral home. The home should be made attractive, inviting and home-like. In this the mother of the house plays a great part. She should be able to cook tasty and appetising meals and instruct the children in high moral standards. The public school should give thorough instruction on the effects of alcohol upon the human system. Standard scientific text-books should be used, for nothing is gained and much may be lost by unreliable teaching. The unvarnished truth with respect to the saloon is so appalling that no exaggeration is necessary. The Church and its various organizations must insist on the great principle of brotherhood, the Golden Rule and the demand of righteousness and purity. The state must fire the big and noisy guns against the fortress of intemperance, by Sunday closing laws, by township, county and state option and finally by nation-wide prohibition. Society, while prohibiting the evil, should be constantly busy in substituting good social agencies, such as gymnasiums, libraries, Boy Scouts and the like. This rests upon a generally admitted law that men will have society and that they are bound to find it somewhere. Society should make temperance fashionable, since everything that is fashion, goes — and why should temperance not be fashionable?

Eternal vigilance is also necessary for securing to every person the weekly day of rest. It is a great injustice to deny this God-given privilege to any person. So much has been said and written on this that we need not argue the point. Leaving aside the question of religious reverence with which many of us regard the day, Sunday is necessary to the physical and mental well-being of man. All physicians agree that one day in seven should be set aside for rest and recreation. Our social conditions are such today that most of us work harder and for longer hours than at any previous time in the world's history.

Better Factory Laws.

It is such a primitive demand of social justice to protect the laborer while at work, to pay him as large a share of what according to the United States census he actually produces and as is compatible with our present system of production and distribution, and to shield the mothers of the nations and the rising generation from the avarice of men without a conscience, that all that is necessary is to mention the subject in this enumeration and to urge the reader to study some of the excellent books recommended in the list at the end of this chapter. To this we will add only the following facts of recent development. Twenty-six states have adopted the Mothers' Pension system. Last year they distributed $10,000,000, and every dollar went to the mothers for the benefit of their children. Most of our states have also enacted Child Labor Reform and Compensation Laws. The introduction of a bill in Congress by Representative Sherwood, of Ohio, to provide a governmental pension of $2 per week to all American citizens over 65 years of age, incapable of manual labor, whose annual income falls below $200, is the first step in the United States toward imitation of various forms of state relief in European countries. Old age pensions are not uncommon in the Old World, running side by side with insurance plans for industrial workers, but are probably seen at their best in Germany.

Abolition of Poverty.

In proportion in which the foregoing elements of social justice are becoming part and parcel of our social and economic life will poverty be automatically and gradually abolished. But as the progress of social righteousness is exceedingly slow, careful observers and experts assert that the pale monster of poverty is growing instead of diminishing. An author writes: "Poverty in the United States kills more people than are killed in the great World War, is the startling statement of government experts. Surgeon-General Blue, of the Public Health Service, declares that 50 per cent. of the deaths from certain diseases can be prevented, while the

Committee of Industrial Relations asserts that 250,000 men, women and children are killed each year in the United States and 4,700,000 wounded 'because our statesmen remain silent in the face of the daily atrocities wrought in times of peace by our system of economic and industrial exploitation.' It is claimed that these figures do not include the toll each year of 100,000 babies killed by poverty before they reach their first birthday. 'The preventable mortality,' says Gen. Gorgas, ' in this country is greater than the mortality caused by the European war. Science knows that the chief cause of disease is poverty; that disease can never be eliminated so long as people are forced to live poorly and close together.' '' One-third and possibly one-half of the families of wage-earners earn, in the course of the year, less than enough to support them in anything like comfort. Only one-fourth of the fathers are able to support their families on the bare subsistence level without income from outside sources. Consequently their families are underfed and are compelled to take in boarders or crowd in tenements. ''When children actually faint in schools from lack of food, and teachers and charity-workers begin to forsake their moderate discussions of 'underfeeding' and malnutrition, to proclaim the presence of impending starvation, the city should not be slow to realize the nature of the facts that confront it,'' remarks the *New York Globe* in reviewing the somewhat sensational reports that school children on New York's East Side were destitute and in some cases actually starving. Dire poverty like this in a land of plenty also makes those unhappy who do not suffer from it, but have sympathizing hearts. The well-known author, John Ruskin, writes: ''For my part, I will put up with this state of things passively not an hour longer. I am not an unselfish person, nor an evangelical one; I have no particular pleasure in doing good: neither do I dislike doing it so much as to expect to be rewarded for it in another world. But I simply cannot paint, nor read, nor look at minerals, nor do anything else I like, and the very best light of the morning sky has become hateful to me, because of the misery that I know of, and see

signs of where I know it is not, which no imagination can interpret too bitterly." And Carlisle adds: "A man willing to work and unable to find work is perhaps the saddest sight that Fortune's inequality exhibits under the sun."

Justice, Not Charity, is the Demand.

Since then any effective abolition of poverty is only possible by the gradual introduction by law of a more righteous and equitable, if not equal, distribution of the wealth produced by all the people, the aim of Christians and philanthropists should be to combat the error that alms-giving is a solution of the problem of poverty, for the following reasons: (1) Doling out charity degrades both the giver and the receiver, because it encourages class spirit and impedes the development of a true democracy. For a large pauper population at the bottom of the social ladder and a few rich men at the top will keep us forever a plutocracy, no matter what beautiful names our designing politicians and a "kept press" may choose to apply to our government. (2) The sums contributed for charity are after all only an infinitesimal portion of what was first taken from the people by wrong methods. Says a New York paper: "The total amount contributed and bequeathed to charity during 1913 in the United States amounted to $169,000,000. That looks like an enormous sum, and so it is. But how does it compare with what monopolies took from the earnings of labor during the same period? Exact figures are not available, but this much is certain—*the amount given to charity, large as it looks, is but a fractional part of what was taken from labor by non-producers. As an illustration, the amount paid for ground rent on Manhattan Island during* 1912 *was* $156,000,000, only slightly less than was required for charity throughout the nation during the following year. Besides this $156,000,000 residents of Manhattan paid additional tribute to holders of public service franchises, to tariff-protected trusts and to other predatory interests. Manhattan Island is but a part of the city of New York, and that city is but a small part of the United States. So the amount

expended in charity was only a restoration to producers of a very small part of what had previously been taken from them." (3) The largest part even of this great sum was given by the people of small means. (4) The unrighteous wealthy givers too often consider their gifts from no higher motives than as premiums paid for insurance against bread riots and destruction of their property. Charity is indeed necessary under our present social system, and it must therefore be continued as long as the stage of transition from an unjust to a righteous social system will last, and this may mean many generations. But a very important point has been gained when Protestants and other right-thinking Americans have come to the conclusion that alms-giving is an evil, though a necessary evil! It aggravates, instead of curing the disease and blocks the way for the coming of justice.

Tolstoy on Charity.

The New York American says: "Only a little while ago Tolstoy, the great teacher, wrote: 'The present position which we, the educated and well-to-do classes, occupy, is that of the Old Man of the Sea, riding on the poor man's back; only, unlike the Old Man of the Sea, we are very sorry for the poor man, very sorry; and we will do almost anything for the poor man's relief. We will not only supply him with food sufficient to keep him on his legs, but we will teach and instruct him and point out to him the beauties of the landscape; we will discourse sweet music to him, and give him abundance of good advice. Yes, we will do almost anything for the poor man, *anything but get off his back.*' "

Social Justice no Utopia.

All these demands for more economic and social justice, equity and fairness urged by a rapidly increasing number of Americans are not unrealizable ideals. They have been tried in Germany for generations and in other European countries for decades. *The North American* recently enumerated what Germany is doing along social lines, as follows:

1. Compulsory state insurance against sickness, accident, infirmity and old age.

2. Controls work of women and children, arranges hours of labor, sees that workers have sufficient time for meals, enforces thrift and hygiene.

3. State owns its own coal and potash mines, railways, post, telephone and telegraph service.

4. Municipalities supply gas, electricity and water, care for the poor and insane, look after the sick; run tramways, public baths and libraries; undertake making of roads, control markets and a host of other works of public utility.

5. Compulsory continuation schools for workers up to 17 years. Children taught to become specialists in some particular line.

6. Poorhouses unknown in Germany. Work colonies established for those who cannot find employment. Those who can work and won't are imprisoned as vagabonds and compelled to work. Weak are given very light work.

7. Orphans and foundlings are provided with homes and watched over to see they receive proper treatment. Boys are taught trades and girls housework, or other employment suitable for them.

8. Popular eating kitchens are established for the poor, where they are furnished food free if unable to pay, or at very low cost if they can.

9. Poor are furnished doctors and medicines free. Hospitals are controlled by municipalities, free for those unable to pay.

10. Employers compelled to pay part of compulsory insurance cost for workers. Pensions for old and infirm. Motherhood insurance for women that desire to pay for same.

11. Employers pay entire cost for workers' accidents, through trade associations formed for the purpose of meeting this cost. Insurance against unemployment will soon be provided for by the government. Some municipalities already have this.

12. Public labor exchanges to secure work for unemployed. State pays fares of workers from one point to another, to help them secure work. Workers get a just share of the profits.

13. Factory inspectors employed by the government to see that same are kept in proper condition and the laws of the country complied with.

14. Bank depositors guaranteed by municipalities, making depositors feel secure and removing danger of frequent panics. Land credit and mortgage banks have destroyed usury.

15. Farming is encouraged in various ways, but the position of the farm workers is least satisfactory of all classes and needs improvement.

16. The co-operative movement in all lines has made enormous strides in the last few years.

RESULT—Germany is unquestionably advancing the most rapidly of all the European nations. While the workers do not earn nearly as much as in the United States, they are provided for when out of work, in case of accident, sickness or when old age comes. All are very economical and nothing is wasted. The following comparisons show the difference between Germany and the United States: Per capita circulation, Germany, $11.10; United States, $34.59. Average deposit per inhabitant, Germany, $58.17; United States, $45.-23. This shows, while the former has a great deal less money per capita, the money is more evenly distributed than in our country. Germany is one of the nations that has proved many reform laws are entirely practical.

How to Abolish Socialism.

Charles Stelzle writes: "The American workingman is the most highly skilled workingman in the world. But compared with what he produces he is the poorest paid workingman in the world. With us it is not so much a question of production. It is a matter of distribution. It is not a question whether the workingman is receiving higher wages than he received fifty years ago. It is a question whether he is receiving a just share of the common product of capital and labor. This is the labor question in a nutshell, and we cannot evade it. The average workingman isn't concerned about a general dividing of all wealth, but he does insist

that in the future he shall be given a square deal. He doesn't want charity. He wants work, and he wants justice. In this he is to be commended. There are some people who are tremendously disturbed about Socialism, and they are seeking to destroy it. But Socialism cannot be snuffed out, or bluffed out, or laughed out. The only way to abolish Socialism is to abolish the conditions which have given rise to Socialism. We need not discuss the merits of Socialism, but it is significant that there are to-day 25,000,000 Socialists throughout the world, 10,000,000 of whom have cast their ballots for Socialist candidates. There are over 1,000 Socialistic office holders in American municipalities and townships. Their literature seems to appeal to the man on the street. They conduct numberless street meetings. They believe in the job, and they are absolutely confident that they will win. We may disagree with the Socialist with regard to his proposed remedy for bad social conditions, but we may work with him and with all others in pointing out the evils of the present economic and political systems. In the end there will be not one answer to the social question, but many, but all will be religious, for the social problem is at heart a religious problem. Therefore the Church will have an important part in its solution."

Commended Reading.

1. Woodrow Wilson. The New Freedom.
2. Bliss, W. D. P. The New Encyclopedia of Social Reform. Informing articles on Industrial Insurance, Old Age Pension, German Empire and Social Reform, Profit Sharing, Ownership of Public Utilities, etc.
3. The Social Problem: A Constructive Analysis. By Charles A. Ellwood, Ph. D.
4. "Poverty and Wealth" from the Viewpoint of the Kingdom of God. By Harry F. Ward.
5. America and the New Epoch. By Charles P. Steinmetz, A. M., Ph. D.
6. The Labor Movement in America. By Richard T. Ely, Ph. D., L. L. D.
7. Social Evangelism. By Henry F. Ward.
8. Child Labor in City Streets. By Edward N. Clopper, Ph. D.
9. Groat, George Gorham (Ph. D.) An Introduction to the Study of Organized Labor in America.

10. Vedder, Henry C. The Gospel of Jesus and the Problems of Democracy.

11. Nearing, Scott, Ph. D. Poverty and Riches. A Study of the Industrial Regime.

12. Commons, John R., and John B. Andrews. Principles of Labor Legislation.

13. Webb, Sidney. The Prevention of Destitution.

14. Darwin, L. Municipal Ownership.

15. Clay. Syndicalism and Labor.

16. Gibbon. Medical Benefit in Germany and Denmark.

17. Markham and Lindsey. Children in Bondage.

18. George, H., Jr. The Menace of Privilege.

19. Hillquit. Socialism in Theory and Practice.

20. Property, its Duties and its Rights, by the Bishop of Oxford.

21. Benson, Allen. Socialism Made Plain.

22. Grahame. Where Socialism Failed.

23. Roberts, Elmer. Monarchical Socialism in Germany.

24. Howe. Socialized Germany.

25. Howe. Privilege and Democracy in America.

26. Strong, Josiah. The Next Great Awakening.

27. Henderson. Industrial Insurance in America.

28. Devine. Misery and its Causes.

29. Rauschenbusch. Christianizing the Social Order.

30. Eliot. The Conflict Between Individualism and Collectivism in a Democracy.

31. Thompson, Karl. Christian Elements in the Social Movements.

32. Schaeffle. The Impossibility of Socialism.

33. Bellamy. Looking Backward, and "Equity" (two novels, explaining Socialism).

34. Dixon, Thomas. Comrades (a novel against Socialism).

35. Churchill. The Inside of the Cup (novel).

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